SINDH OBSERVED

Selection from the Journal of Sindh Historical Society

Edited by

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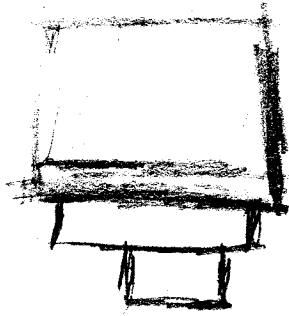
To,

Nadeem Omer, Bilal Ahmad, &
Muhamad Amjad

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INTRODUCTION

The early political history of Sindh is shrouded in mystery and mostly remains unknown. The excavation of Moenjo Daro brought to light the existence of highly developed urban culture in Sindh (2500-200 BC). The discovery of Moenjo Daro smashed the myth that the Indian subcontinent has no history and civilization. The discovery of highly urbanized and developed civilization refuted these charges and brought the ancient Indian civilization parallel to the Egyptian and Mesopotamian. It gave pride and confidence to the people of the Indian subcontinent and strengthened the freedom movement against the Britishers.

The significant aspect of the history of Sindh is the constant invasions of the foreign powers and its occupation by them. In 520-515 B.C, the Persians invaded Sindh and after the conquest incorporated it into the Persian empire. Next was Alexander of Macedonia (326-25 BC). Then came Sakas and the Kushans (120 BC 200 AD). It was again conquered by the Sassanid Empire and Sindh became one of its provinces.

Under The Rai dynasty Sindh attempted to become independent but the defeat of the Rai ruler by the Persians sealed the fate and Sindh remained occupied by the Persians. When Chuch came into power; he made Sindh independent from the Persian empire. But the independence was short lived and during the reign of Raja Dahar, Sindh was invaded by the Arabs who, after the victory, made it a part of the Arab Empire. Nearly two hundred years (712-1058) the Arab ruled over Sindh.

The later history of Sindh is the history of the ruling dynasties. The Sumras (1058-1379); the Sammas (1349-1520); the Kalhoras (1700-1782); and the Talpurs (1782-1843) ruled over Sindh successively. In 1843, it was conquered by the British and became a part of the Bombay presidency. In 1937, after a vigorous political campaing, it was separated and became an independent province.

The tragedy of the political history of Sindh is that mostly it was ruled by the foreign dynasties unsympathetic to the local people. They ruled over the country with force and military power and thus brought immense sufferings to the people and the country.

The foreign ruling classes throughout the history resided inn the cities which flourished at the expense of the peasents and the workers. They kept the local people backward and ignorant. Consequently the local culture could not prosper and remained overshadowed by the foreign urban culture. Their rule of the foreign dynasties, the constant invasions from the outside, and the civil wars between the claimants of the throne devastated the country and reduced the majority of people to poverty, this made them culturally bacbackward.

Sindh was visited by the different European nations in the 16th and the 17th centuries for trade. The Portuguese were first. They were followed by the English and the Dutch. The first English factory was established at Thatta in 1635. It appears from the Factory records that during the 17th century Sindh was famous for its textiles and Bhakkar, Rohri, Darbelo, Gambat, Kandiaro, Sehwan, Sann, Dadu, Nasarpur, and Thatta were famous for cotton manufacturing industry. The chief articles which were exported from Sindh were rice, hides, Sharkfins, saltpetre, potash, assafoetida, cotton, silk cloths, horses and indigo.

Sindh was rich in agriculture products. Dates, mangoes, apples, pomegranates, oranges, mulberries, tamarinds, and melons were abundant. The common vegetables were onions, spinich, turnips, radishs, carrots, garlic, pumpkins, beans, peas and eggplants. The wheat and rice were produced in large quantity. Inspite of the fertility of soil, the condition of the peasants was miserable because the best lands were occupied by the foreign ruling classes and the local peasantry either cultivated the worst land or worked manual labours and lived in squalid and wretchednes. The burden of miseries was lessened by the common people in observing festivals, and engaging in dancing and singing.

The partation of 1947 brought political, social and economic change to Sindh. The urban Hindu population left Sindh in a frenzy of communal riots and the refugees from various parts of India arrived and settled in cities. When the early enthuusiasm cooled

down, the problems between Sindhi and refugees were multiplied. The political situation was further deteriorated when West Pakistan was declared One Unit. It was the beginning of nationalist movement in Sindh in order to preserve their identity. Though one Unit was abolished in 1970 but in the absence of democratic process the small nationalities felt exploited by the majority province. Sindh is struggling very hard for betterment of its future socially, economically, culturally and also stricking for its FUTURE, to win the status it has always DESERVED.

In order to understand the history of Sindh, the articles written by eminent historians and Scholars are selected from the journal of Sind Historical Society. These articles were written by prominent historians and scholars who, after painstaking research, brought to light the ancient as well as modern history of Sindh. As the journal ceased to publish; and its complete record is not available in any library; it is decided to publish the collection of best of articles and make them available to scholars and general readers.

Mubarak Ali
Lahore, August 1993.

Sapta-Sindhu in the Rig Veda

By N. M. Billimoria

(Read before the Sindh Historical Society, Karachi, on 11th Dec. 1938)

I must first mention about the Sapta Sindhu and about the Rig Veda before I take up the proper subject of the paper.

Arya signifying honourable, in ordinary speech, and derived from arya, which means lord in the Vedas, is the most ancient name of the Indian people. In Rig Veda I, 51, 8 we read "Distinguish between the Aryas and those who are Dasyus; chastizing those who observe no sacred rites, subject to them to the sacrificer." The term "Malecha", an impure barbarian, is the opposite of Arya. The same is the case among the Persians. According to the Persian law of euphony, arya had to be changed airya, a name which the Persians long applied to themselves, and out of which the more modern Iran, has arisen; a name too with which Herodotus had become acquainted. Anairya, non-Iranic is opposed to the word airya.

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy in his recently published book The Rig Veda as Land-Nama Bok says about Arya, Arya thus: —

> Arya, "noble" or "gentle" (as in "Gentleman") is form r, to go, rise up, reach, obtain; cognate forms are ariya, airya, Irna, Erin, and Germ. Ehre; for the root, cf. Zend ir, Lith ir-ti (to row, of. Skr. aritra, "oar"), Greek' or-nu-mi, 'aro-o etc. and Lat. or-ior, or-iens. Any connection with Lat. ar, to plough, may be doubted. The root meanings give the sense of going forward and taking possession. The root meaning of arya is that of "pioneer", in the American sense, where the first settlers are most highly honoured (one might almost speak of an "ancestral cult" in this connection), and where it represents the height of social distinction to be descended from these first comers from the other side. From this point of view, there develops the secondary meaning of "noble" and that of "right", cf. rta "law" and ari "loyal"; the procedure of the first settlers being thought of as an establishment of law and order where savagery (anrta)

had previously prevailed. Thus he, Agni, who purvam arta (RV. IV, 1, 12) is not only rtaya and rtayus, but also rtavan and rtvij or in short and in every sense of the word, arya or arya.

It need hardly be pointed out that the term arya is applied by the Aryans themselves to themselves in this laudatory sense, and by way of distinction from others whose descent and behaviour are relatively abominated, and of whose point of view we hear little.

Rg. Veda IV, 1, 12.

Wonderously first he rose aloft, defiant, in the Bull's lair, the home of holy order.

Longed-for, young. beautiful, and far-resplendent; and seven dear friends sprang up into the mighty.

The original Arian race from which later the Indians and the Persians separated cannot have lived as one community in India or Persia. The Indians who spoke Sanskrit were not the original inhabitants of Hindustan. The oldest seats of the Indians mentioned are to be placed in the Punjab. In the first Fargad of the Vendidad, verse 73, Hapta Hindu or India is mentioned, which is called Hindus in the cunei-form inscriptions. For a long time the meaning of Hapta Hendu, seven Indias, was not understood. The Vedas gave an explanation, for in the hymns of the Rig Veda, we find Sapta-Sindhvas, the seven rivers, often mentioned; this is the country of the Indians. From the Punjab, the Indian advanced towards the east, first as the Sarswati; after that, they spread over the whole of north India; they went to the south only in the later period.

The Sanskrit, or what may be called the indigenous name of the river Indus is Sindhu, not Hindu from which the word Indus has come. The Rig Veda speaks of the Indus with its tributaries as Sapt-Sindhavas (*i.e.*, country of the Seven Sindhu rivers) not as Hapt-Hindavas. See Rig Veda, IV, Hymn 28.

With you as his companion and in friendship with you, oh Soma, Indra set the waters flowing for man. He slew the Serpent, set free the seven rivers and opened up the gates which were closed as it were.

(Translated by H. D. Velankar, in the journal of the Bombay University, Vol. VI, Part VI, May 1938).

Great discussion has arisen to assign the original country of the Arian family. There are many opinions on the subject. One says that India was the original country of the Arian family, from which its different branches emigrated to the north-west and in other directions.

Some very famous men state that the original abode is to be sought in the extreme east of the Iranian country, in the tract where the Oxus and Jaxartes take their rise. The great affinity between the Sanskrit and the ancient Bactrian languages and the resemblances between the mythologies of the Vedas and the Avesta should show that the Iranians had spent a great part of the Vedic period with the Indians. This opinion is supported by Prof. Max Muller; and he adds that "the Zoroastrians were a colony from Northern India. They had been together for a time with the people whose sacred songs have been preserved to us in the Veda. A schism took place and the Zoroastrians migrated westward to Arachosia and Persia. They gave to the new cities and to the rivers along which they settled the names of cities and rivers familiar to them, and reminding them of the localities which they had left. Haroyu in Persian would be Saroyu in Sanskrit; this river of the Punjab is mentioned in the Veda; IV, 30, 18; "Arna and Chitraratha, both Aryas, thou, Indra slewest swift, on yonder side of Sarayu." Turvasa and Yadu may perhaps have crossed the river and under the protection of Indra conquered two Aryan chiefs whose lands lay beyond it. This same river is mentioned again in the tenth book, 64 hymn, 9th verse;" Let the Sarasvati, the Sarayu, the Sindhu, with their waves; let the great rivers come swiftly strengthening us with their succour, etc."

M. Pictet in his "Les Origines Indo-Europeennes", says:

> "Assuming Bactria to have been the centre of the region peopled by the primitive Atryas, the Iranians must have possessed its North-East corner, bordering on Sogdiana, towards Belurtag, and have at first spread towards the east, as far as the high mountain valleys, from which they afterwards descended to colonize Iran. Alongside of them, to the south-east, probably, in the fertile regions of Badakshan, dwelt the Indo-Arians, occupying the slopes of Hindu-Kush, which they

had afterwards to cross, or to round, in order to arrive in Cabul, and penetrate thence into Northern India. To the south-west, towards the sources of the Artamis, and the Bactrus, we should place the Pelasgo-Arians (the Greeks and Latins). who must have advanced thence in the direction of Herat and continued their migration by Khorasan and Mazenderan to Asia Minor and the Hellaspont."

The period when the Arian emigrations took place the earliest cannot be placed at less than 3000 B.C.

Lassen Ind. Ant. I, 527 remarks as follows: —

"The opinion that the original seats of these (the Indian and Iranian) nations are to be sought here in (the extreme east of the Iranian highlands) receives great confirmation from the fact, that we find branches of these nations on both sides of the lofty range; for the ancient inhabitants of Casghar, Yarkhand, Khoten, Aksu, Turfan, and Khamil are Tajkis and speak Persian; it is from this point only that they are diffused towards the interior of upland Asia; so that their most powerful germ seems to have been planted on this range."

And Prof. Wilson says:

"Without extending the limits of India, however, too far to the north, there is no reason to doubt, that the valleys of the Indian Caucasus were properly included within them, and that their inhabitants, as far as Pamer mountains and Badakhshan, were Indians, who may have been at first tributary to Persia, and afterwards subject to some branches of the Greek race of Bactrian kings" Ariana Antiqua, p. 134.

Badakhshan is the country on the banks of the Oxus near its sources situated between lat. 36° and 38° north, and lying eastward from Balkh. Pamer lies in the same direction.

I may say that none of the most ancient Sanskrit books has any reference or allusion to the foreign origin of the Indians.

In several verses in the Rig Veda we find words which show that the composers of the verses still retain some recollection of their having occupied a colder country:

R. V. I, 64, 17: May we cherish sons and descendants a hundred years.

R. V. V. 54. 15; Be pleased, O Maruts, with this hymn of mine, by the force of which may we pass through a hundred winters.

R. V. VI 4. 8; May we rejoice, living a hundred winters, with vigorous offspring.

The mention of Uttara (northern) Kurus may be reminding them of countries north of the Himalaya. Ptolemy is also acquainted with Uttara Kuru. He speaks of a mountain, a people, and a city called Ottorokorra— this place may be sought for to the east of Kashgar.

As stated before, Ahura-mazda created several regions, it mentioned in the First Fargard of the Vendidad. The first region is Aryano-vaejo Dr. Haug remarks about this that Airyana-vaejo was originally the only cultivated country, and that all other countries were waste. As it was to be feared that the inhabitants of the waste would overrun this fertile region, other countries were also made habitable by Ahura-mazda. In the 72-73 verses Sapta-Sindhuvas is mentioned, the country of the seven rivers of the Punjab. Spiegel places Airyana-vaejo in the furthest east of the Iranian plateau, in the region where the Oxus and Jaxartes take their rise.

Cashmere, which has the sources of one of the tributaries of the Indus, the Jhelum— the Hydaspes of the ancient Greeks, the Bydaspes of Ptolemy and the Vitasta of the Vedas— was then included in the above named country of Hapta-Hindu. Unfortunately, the Iranian names of the Indus have not come down to us in the extant Iranian literature. But still, the names, Hydaspes, the Greek name of the Jhelum, and Bydaspes, the name given to it by Ptolemy, clearly show their Iranian origin. We know, that some of the rivers of ancient Persia derived their names for "aspa", *i.e.*, the horse, because their speed was considered to be as great as that of a horse. Take for example the Hvaspa, *i.e.*, the good-horse which is

thought to be the same as the Choaspes of the Greeks. The name Hydaspes or Bydaspes is another instance of a river deriving its name from Avesta, Aspa, Sanskrit, Ashwa, Latin, Equus, a horse.

Even later Arab and Mahomedan writers speak of Kashmir as being a part of Hindu or India. According to Masudi, Kashmir together with Sindh and Kanauj formed part of India.

We have seen that Bactria or its neighbourhood was the country which the different branches of the Indo-European race occupied in common before they separated. By what route did they enter India.

Lassen says:

"There is only one route by which we can imagine the Arian Indians to have immigrated into India; they must have come through the Punjab and reached the Punjab through western Kabulistan. The roads leading from the country on the Oxus into eastern Kabulistan and the valley of the Panjkora, or into the upper valley or the Indus down upon Gilgit and from thence either down the course of the Indus or from Gilgit over the lofty plateau of Dootsu down on Kashmir, are now known to us as the roughest and most difficult that exist.... All the important expeditions of nations or armies which are known to us have proceeded through the western passes of the Hindukush, and if we suppose the Arian Indians to have come into India from Bactria, this is the only route by which we can assume them to have arrived."

Schlegal states:

The western side of India appears to be more open, as from Kashmir to the Delta of the Indus the boundaries are not otherwise marked than by that river itself. But in its upper course the Indus is not navigable owing to its rapidity and its cataracts; and in addition its right bank is flanked by mountains. Towards the sea it spreads out into, or is surrounded by, marshes; more in the interior, and even above the confluence of the five rivers, it is bounded by sandy deserts. From that point to the place where it enters the plains near Attock a tract intervenes where the passage may be more easily effected. Accordingly it is on this side that India has always been entered

by foreign conquerors, by Samiramis, if her Indian expedition is authentic.... by Alexander the Great, Seleucus, and the Greek kings of Bactria, by the Indo-Schythians, or nomad races, who invaded certain provinces during the century preceding our era; by Mahmud of Ghazni, by the Afghans, the Moghuls, and the Persians under Nadir Shah. Thus all probabilities are united in favour of the supposition that the ancestors of the Hindus came from the same side..... The Punjab would consequently be the first country occupied by the colonists.

Coming to the present writers, G. R. Hunter in the New Review for April 1936 writes in a paper on the "Riddle of Mohenjo Daro:"

It seems fairly certain that at some time prior to the Aryan arrival the Dravidians held the Indus Valley, For on no other hypothesis is it easy to account for the present position and speech of the Brahui of Baluchistan. Further evidence to suggest that they were actually in Mohenjo Daro at the time of our texts is afforded by the discovery of what appears to be a variety of the Indus script on pottery recovered from cairn burials in Hyderabad and Madras (see Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society, 1917, p. 57) in country that one supposes was Dravidian-speaking at the date of those burials. A further argument might be drawn from the presence at Mohenjo Daro of a high proportion of skulls of the Mediterranean type. But until more is known of the anthropological antecedents of the Dravidian-speaking races it would be wiser to omit this argument."

Rev. Heras in his paper on "Light on the Mohenjo Daro Riddle", in the July 1936 number of the New Review writes:

"Accustomed as we are to associate the Dravidians from very ancient times with South India, it is indeed a little difficult to persuade ourselves that they occupied the whole of India at any time of her history. Even Dravidian scholars have never claimed that their ancestors were at any time masters of Northern India. But the Rig Veda itself speaks of the fight between the Aryas and the Dasyus from the moment they crossed the Hindukush. (I do not speak of the Asuras who apparently were not Dravidians). During the epic period

numerous Dravidian tribes were still inhabiting Northern India, the Gandharas, the Mahisis, the Matsyas, the Nagas, the Garudas, the Bakhlias, point to the presence of the much Dravidian blood in the veins of Northern Indian people. Brahui and Uraon, two Dravidian languages now spoken in Northern India also suggest the domination of the ancient Dravidians over the whole of Northern India."

"Who were these Dravidians and from where did they come? The answer to this question will help us a great deal to solve the Mohenjo Daro riddle. The opinion now prevalent among historians and ethnologists is that they formed a part of the great Mediterranean race. Their original home was probabaly Libya, whose people spread over the southern countries of Europe and Egypt in its pre-dynastic days, and which seems to have been an important centre of culture in ancient times. This culture was brought to India by Lybians who were later called Dravidians, and it improved by its mixture with the negritoes and Kolarians who were inhabiting India at the time of their arrival. This mixture is proved by its results. Though the Dravidians belonged to the white race they were described by the Aryan invaders as "blacked faced and noseless." If they mixed so freely with the negritoes as to acquire some of their characteristics, they must have mixed much more freely with the Austric people who were racially less different from them. A mixture of two races improves the new race and consequently its culture. That the culture of the Dravidian people received a new impulse after their mixture with the earlier settlers, the script of Mohenjo Daro is an evident proof. For though brought into India from outside it developed so much here as to become the parent script of some of the most famous scripts in the history of the world."

The words "blacked faced and noseless", used by Rev. Heras I have traced in verse 10, hymn 29 to Agni, in Book V, of the Rig Veda.

"One car-wheel of the Sun thou rolledest forward, and one thou settest free to move to Kutsa. Thou slewest noseless Dasyus with thy weapon and in their home overthrewest hostile speakers."

Griffiths comments: an eclipse of the sun appears to be referred to. *Noseless*, that is the flat-nosed barbarians, *a-nasah* : or the word may be as Sayana explains, an-asah, *i.e.*, mouthless, voiceless, unintelligibly speaking. Asya, face or mouth, being put by metonomy for sabda, the sound that comes from the mouth, articulate speech, alluding possibly to the uncultivated dialects of the barbarous tribes, barbarism and uncultivated speech being identical, in the opinion of the Hindus, as the familiar term for a barbarian, 'mlechha' which is derived from the root mlechh to speak rudely. (Of. Muir, Sanskrit Texts, Vol. II, p. 377-78).

Prof. Max Muller says that "at the first dawn of traditional history we see these Arian tribes migrating across the snow of the Himalaya, southwards towards the seven rivers (The Indus, the five rivers of the Punjab, and the Sarasvati) and ever since India has been called their home." All the writers agree that India is not the original country of the Hindus.

The immigration of the Arians was from the north-west is supported by the fact that the composers of the Vedic hymns appear to be very familiar with the North West parts of India itself, as well as with the countries bordering on, or beyond the Indus; they were familiar with the rivers which flow through this region. On the other hand places, rivers in the central and eastern parts of India are rarely mentioned; and no allusion is made to the southern region.

The Sindhu is very often celebrated in the hymns of the Rig Veda, while the Ganges is mentioned only once. In RV. X., 75, we read "Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati, Saturdi, with Purushni, receive graciously my hymn Marudvridha, hear with Asikni, the Vitasta; Arjikiya, hear with the Sushoma". Ganga is the Ganges. Yamuna, the Jumna. Saturdi, the Satlaj. Parushni, the Ravi; Asikni, the ancient Accsines, the vedic name of the Chandrabhaga, the present Chenab. Arjikiya is Vipas or Beeas; Vitasta is the Hydaspas. Kophen is the Kabul river. According to Arrian, Alexander crossed four rivers before he reached the Indus; the Kophen, Khoes, Euaspla, and Garoeus; we have still in the Punjshir, Alishung, Khonar and Pinjkora.

The River Karun. — The country through which the river Karun passes is very interesting. It was on the shores of this river Karun that Daniel, according to the Old Testament has his celebrated

dream in the palace of Shushan. It is the river down which, we learn from Arrian, Alexander the Great sailed in his journey from Persipolis to Susa, and it is the river which his admiral Nearchus ascended with the fleet placed at his disposal. It is the river spoken of in the celebrated march of Taimur, in later times, as the Chahar Dangah.

To a Parsi, the region traversed by the river is interesting, where the foreign Parthian dynasty under the last king Ardvan (the Artabanes of the Greek writers) was overthrown by the well known Ardeshir Babegan (Ardeshir I). It is the region where Shapur, the son of Ardeshir, had after his victory at the battle of Edessa, imprisoned his royal Roman prisoner Valerian, whose prison house is even now shown in a castle of Shuster on the banks of the Karun. Hormuz, the grandson of Ardeshir, here had founded the well-known city of Ram Hormuz (Aram-i-Hormuz, the rest of Hormuz). This region has many signs of the greatness of the Sassanian dynasty.

Garois, the ancient name was Gauri, the present is Panjkora. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting from Sir Aurel Stein's Archaeological Tour in the Western and Northern Baluchistan.

> "*Rivers mentioned in Rig Veda*. — In the light of what modern conditions here show us it becomes possible for us to recognise the true significance of the oldest record that relates to this ground. I mean the mention of the river Krumu and Gomati in the famous Vedic hymn the "Nadistuti" of the Rig Veda (X. 75). Their identity with the present Kurram and Gumal has been established ever since the study of India's oldest literary remains started in Europe. But it scarcely appears to have been adequately realized that the mention of these two rivers both comparatively small except when sudden spates fill their beds, suggests such acquaintance with Waziristan as only prolonged occupation by Aryan tribes of the early Vedic period is likely to account for. It is by the Kuram and Gumal that the whole drainage of Waziristan and the Afghan uplands adjoining westwards finds its way to the Indus. There is all the more reason to attach a quasi-historical interest to their mention because acquaintance also with the hill tracts immediately to the south seems implied by the reference with another hymn of the Rig Veda makes to the river Yavyaati; for this I believe has been rightly identified by Professor Hillebrant with Gumal's

main tributary, the Zhob, the modern name of which can easily be accounted for as the direct phonetic derivative of the vedic form.

The change of initial Y into J and the subsequent one of J into ZH is well known in Iranian dialects the use of which in the present Baluchistan is well attested from the early period; in the southern dialect of Pushtu the pronunciation of initial J as ZH is quite common.

The change of AVYA into O can also be accounted for by the frequent assimilation of VY into V and by the weakening process which reduces medical V to U, resulting in the subsequent normal contraction of AVA into O."

River Sarasvati is celebrated in several passages: —

III. 23.4. On an auspicious day I place thee on the most sacred spot of Illa (the earth). Shine, O opulent Agni, in the assembly of men on the banks of the Drishadvati, the Apaya, the Sarasvati.

VI. 61.2 By her force and her impetuous waves she has broken down the sides of the mountains, like a man digging lotus fibres. For succour let us with praises and hymns, invoke Sarasvati who sweeps away her banks.

The same epithet "most copious of streams" is applied to Sarasvati and the Sindhu. Hymns 95 and 96 of the 7th book of the Rig Veda are devoted to the praises of the Sarasvati and her male corelative Sarasvat. The Rig Veda does not contain hymns in celebration of the Ganga, such as we find for the Sindhu and Sarasvati.

The river Sarayu is mentioned three times, in R. V. IV, 30, 18, "Arna and Chitraratha, both Aryas, thou Indra, slewest swift, on the yonder bank of Sarayu." This river is the Punjab river (not one near Oudh) Turvasa and Yadu may perhaps have crossed the river and under the protection of Indra conquered two Arijan chiefs, whose land lay beyond it.

In RV. X, 75. several other rivers are mentioned, *viz*; Trishtama, Susatu, Rasa, Sveti, Kubha, Gomati, Krumu and Mehtanu; also Siamvat and Urnavati. According to Sayana (the commentator) about the last two rivers, the words are epithets of Sindhu and mean respectively, 'abounding in Silama plants' and said to be used for cordage, and 'rich in wool,'

The river Rasa is famous; in RV. X, 108, the Panis the avaricious merchants of Sapta Sindhu, had stolen the cows of the cultivators. Indra wished to go in search himself; but first sent his watch-dog Sarama to reconnoitre. When she meets the Panis, they ask her "how didst thou cross the waters of the Rasa"? This river is mentioned in the Zoroastrain literature as Rangha; in Pahlavi Bundesh it is called Arang. Different scholars assign it to different rivers: —

Darmesteter takes it for the Tigris.

Harley takes it for the Oxus.

Spegal, Justi, Geiger, for the Zarzates.

Geiger takes it for Vedic Rasa.

Windischmann takes it for Sindhu.

Martin Haug in his "Language, writings and Religon of the Parsis" quotes from Pahlvi Vendidad I.

The eleventh of places and districts produced perfect by me, me who am Auharmazd, was Het Homand the illustrious and glorious; busy and diligent is the spirit which it subdued (1) some say that of the Veh River (2)

(1) Some modern mss. alter the word into Sistan, because Hetmund River is in Sistan.

(2) The Veh (or good) river is one of the two chief rivers of the word according to the Bundahish which states that "these two rivers flow forth from the north part of the Eastern Albroz, one towards the west that is the Arang, and one towards the east that is the Veh river. The spirits of the two rivers are also mentioned and further particulars are given thus (Bundesh, p. 50) "the Veh river

passes by on the east goes through the land of Sind, and flows to the sea in Hindustan, and they call it there the Mehra River." It is said that the Veh river is also called the Kasak in Sindh.

Haug further states at p. 364 "The 16th of places and districts produced perfect by me, me who am Auharmuzd was on the waters of Arang stan (Eastern Empire of the Romans) which is Arum...... That is the country of the Arang river, one of the two chief rivers of the Iranian world. It is likewise said in the Bundahish.

"The Arag or Arang river is that of which it is said that it comes out from the Albroz in the land of Surkak which they also call (or in which they also call it Ami and it passes on through the land of Spetos which they also call Mesr and they call it there the Niv."

Rasa is mentioned in RV. I, 112, 12— "wherewith ye made Rass swell full with water-flood, and urged to victory the car without a horse;

V. 41, 15 .. "May the great Mother Rasa here befriend us.." also

V, 53, 9... "So let not Rasa, Krumu, or Anitabha Kubha, or Sindhu hold you back. Let not the watery Saray obstruct your way."

Anitabha is an affluent of the Indus. Another river Sivastu, an affluent of the Indus is mentioned in RV. VIII, 19, 36-37. "A gift of fifty female slaves hath Trasadasyu given me, Parukutsa's son, most liberal kind, lord of the brave. And Syava too for me led forth a strong steed at Suvastu's ford." The bard Sobhari is recounting the presents which he received on the banks of the Suvastu. According to Arrian the Soastos and Garios flow into the Kophen. Suvastu is the same as the modern river Suwad, a stream which flows into the Kabul river from the north, after first joining the Pnajkora.

We may sfaely say that at the time of the composition of the Rig Veda the Arian Indians dwelt chiefly in eastern Kabulistan and the Punjab as far as the Sarasvati; they had not spread further than to North-West Bengal on the south bank of the Ganges. No

mention is made of the rivers Narmada, the Godaveri and the Kaveri, well known for their sanctity.

Hymn 33, Book III, is a dialogue between Visvamitra and the rivers Vipas and Sutudri; the first is the Beas, and the second to the south-east of Amritsar. The legend is that Visvamitra the purohit or family priest of king Sudas obtained wealth by means of his office took the whole of it and came where the two rivers met. In order to make the rivers fordable he praised them with the first three verses of the hymn. The hymn has some poetical beauty and is interesting as a relic of the traditions of the Arians regarding their progress eastward in the land of the five rivers.

The Himalaya mountains are mentioned in X, 121, 4; He whose greatness these snowy mountains and the sea with the aerial river declare etc. But no allusion to the Vindhaya range is to be found in the Rig Veda.

The hymns addressed to Soma were intended to be sung while the juice of the plant, said to be produced on Mount Mujavat was being pressed out and purified. The first verse of R. V. X, 34 runs thus: —

These dice that roll upon the board

To me intense delight afford

Sweet Soma-juice has not more power

To lure me in an evil hour.

The passion for gambling prevailed very extensively at the time when the hymns of the Rig Veda were composed. Thus in R.V. VII, 86, 6 dice are mentioned along with wine, anger, thoughtlessness as causes of sin.

In the first book, 7th hymn, 9th verse it is sung: "Indra who rules with single sway men, riches, and the fivefold race of those who dwell upon the earth." Here the Aryan settlements or tribes are meant. In the 108th hymn, these five are named: "If, O Indra and Agni, ye are abiding among the Yadus, Turvasas, Druhyus, Anus, Purus— come hither, vigorous heroes, from all quarters, and drink the soma, which has been poured out."

Vasishtha was the bard of the Tritsu, the chief Aryan nation, and Vishvamitra was the bard of the Bharastas their great enemeis and one of the most powerful native tribes. Tritsu were perhaps the original invaders of the Punjab. Their first king, Divodasa was engaged in continuous warfare with some fierce mountain tribes of the north, whose chief was Shambara; he had built a number of forts into Himalayan fastnesses; these forts were built of wood, so that the usual mode of attack and destruction was by fire. That is why in many passages in which the exploits of Dividasa are glorified, the credit of the victory was given to Agni and Indra. The forts are mentioned as 90 or 99— to express great number. The poet sings in one place "O Lightning bearer these are thy deeds that thou destroyedest 99 castles in one day, and the 100th at night." Victories are recorded of Divodasa and his son or grandson, Sudas over the Yadu and Turvasu, twin tribes always named together, who lived south of seven rivers between the Indus and the Jamna. These two tribes were of Aryan stock, connected with the Aryas of the Indus and Sarasvati. The Purus, a powerful originally a Dravidian race, who lived in the west and had an unending fight with the Gandharas, who lived in the Kabul valley and bred horses, was for a long time a firm ally of the Tritsu. The bard sings "From fear of thee the black people fled; they dispersed, leaving behind their goods and chattels, when thou, Agni, blazing for the Puru, destroyed their forts (VII, 6, 3). In the 19th hymn of the same book, Indra is praised for giving the victory over the Yadu-Turvasu to the Tritsu, for helping Kutsa, the Puru king, in his battles, and giving his enemy a prisoner in his hands. Thus the War of the ten kings went on Purukutsa standing at its head. Tritsu had some allies; we find names of Prithu and Parsu, Parthian and Persians; two chief Eranian tribes may have wandered south of the Himalayas.

In the 18th Hymn, Book VII, the following lines occur.

Together came the Pakthas, the Bhalanas, the Alinas, the Sivas, the Vishanins,

Yet to the Tritsus came the Aryas' comrade, through love of spoil and heroes' war, to lead them.

Fools, in their folly fain to waste her waters, they parted inexhaustible Parushni.

The tribes mentioned above are non-Aryan tribes opposed to the Tritsus. The confederates who were on the right or further bank of the Purushni (the Ravi), intending to attack Sudas and the Tritsus, tried to ford the river by digging channels and to divert the waters; but the waters rush back and drowned the men. The Tritsu victory was complete and there was nothing to hinder them from proceeding eastward towards the Yamuna. Ragozin in the Vedic India on page 328 writes: —

> "A people named Vishanin, *i.e.*, followers of Vishnu is also mentioned almost certainly Aryan sun-worshippers, showing that Vishnuism as a distinctive worship— a sect— had its roots in a remoter past than was hitherto suspected. (Vishnuism is probably originally connected with the transition from the oldest calendar of thirteen lunar months to the reformed solar year of twelve months, presided over by the twelve Adityas— see Mr. Hewitt's Early History of Northern India). As though to complete the connection, we find in the list of Tritsu allies the Vishanin bracketed with the Shiva, which is thought to be a name of the Tugra, one of the oldest aboriginal Dravidian peoples whom the Aryas had specially nick-named "sons of the Serpent" and who under the religious designation of Shiva, were very probably the originators of the worship of Shiva under the form or with the attribute of a snake.

Arattii. — This is a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit Arashtra, who were a people of the Punjab; in fact the name Aratta is often synonymous with the Punjab in Hindu literature.

Arachosii. — This people occupied the country around the modern Kandhar. McCrindle (Ancient India, 88) says "Arachosia extended westward beyond the meridian of Kandhar, and was skirted on the east by the river Indus. On the north it stretched to the western section of the Hindu Kush and on the south to Gedrosia. The province was rich and populous, and the fact that it was traversed by one of the main routes by which Persia communicated with India added greatly to its importance."

Gandaraei. — (Sanskrit, Gandhara). This people lived on both sides of the Cabul river, above its junction with the Indus; the modern Peshawar district. In earlier times they extended east of the

Indus, where their eastern capital was located— Takshasila, a large and prosperous city, called by the Greeks, Taxila.

Sir Henry Elliot in his "Appendix to the Arabs in Sindh", writes:—

Annals of Rajisthan Vol. I p. 85-88.

"Tod exalts the Taks to a high and important rank amongst the tribes which emigrated from Scythia to India making them the same as the Takshak, Nagbansi or serpent race, which acted a conspicous part in the legendary annals of ancient India." p. 124.

In the 7th book of RV., hymn 33, two tribes are mentioned: —

"Indra heard Vasishtha when he uttered praise, and opened up a wide space for the Tritsus. Like stakes for driving cattle, the contemptible Bharatas were lopped all round.

Tritsu was the tribe of which Sudas was king; the Bharatas was the hostile tribe.

The Kambojas spoke an Arian language, and their country was situated to the North West India, on the other side of the Indus; we may state that Sanskrit was spoken at some distance to the west of that river.

In R.V. 1., 126, 7, the ewes of the Gandharis are spoken of as famous for their wool. "I am all hairy like an ewe of the Gandharis." The country of Gandhara is to the west of the Indus and to the south of the Kabul river. King Darius in a rock inscription mentions the Ga(n) dara together with the Hi(n)du as people subject to him and the Ganarii, Parthians, Khorasmians, Sogdians, Dadikae, are said by Herodotus to have formed part of the army of Xerxes. The name of the country is preserved in the modern Kandhar.

Though Balkh was conterminous with the most ancient abodes of the Arians in India, it is curious to note that the Bahlikas are not mentioned in the Rig Veda. But in other places this tribe is mentioned:

"Let everyone avoid those impure Bahikas, who are outcasts, from righteousness, who are shut out by the Himayat, the Ganga, the Sarasvati, the Yamuna, and Kurukshetra, and who dwell between the five rivers which are associated with the Sindhu (Indus) as the sixth."

Their women are thus described: —

"The women, drunk and undressed, wearing garlands, and perfumed with unguents, sing and dance in public places, and on the ramparts of the town."

"In the region where these five rivers flow after issuing from the mountains dwell the Bahikas, called Arattas; let no Arya dwell there even for two days..."

In the Raja Tarangini, the Gandhara-brahmans are thus described: —

"Then the Gandhara Brahmans seized upon rent-free lands for these most degraded of priests were of the same disposition as that tyrannical prince. These sinners, sprung from Melchhas, as so shameless as to corrupt their own sisters and daughters-in-law and to offer their wives to others, hiring and selling them, like commodities for money. Their women being thus given up to strangers are consequently shameless."

Wilson in the Vishnu Puran says about the Gandharas;

"These are also a people of the north-west, found both on the west of the Indus, and in the Punjab, and well-known to classical authors as the Gandarii and Gandaridae." (See Herodotus, IV, pp. 216-217.)

Kings are frequently mentioned in the hymns of the R.V. The country occupied by the Aryas was no doubt inhabited by various tribes and divided into numerous principalities. In R. V. 1, 126, 1 a king called Bhavya is celebrated who dwelt on the banks of the Sindhu or Indus;

"With my intellect I produce ardent praises on Svanaya, the son of Bhavya, who dwells on the Sindhu; the invincible prince,

who, desirous of renown, has offered through me a thousand oblations."

In RV. VIII, 21, 18, Chitra and other chiefs are mentioned as living near the Sarasvati. Ten kings are alluded to as having fought against Sudas. Mention is made of rulers or governors under the title of Purpati a lord of a city or fortified place (RV. 1, 173, 10) and gramani ruler of a village or tribe or band of men.

In the hymns we find distinct traces of the existence of polygamy as an exception, but the rule was monogamy. In some places the husband appears as having only one wife — because the latter is mentioned in the singular. In some cases, plural is used, 1, 62, 11 "our hymns touch thee, strong god, as loving wives a loving husband."

From the following lines we can infer that women were allowed to select their husbands in those times. "Happy is the female who is handsome; she herself loves (or chooses) her friend among people (X. 27).

A widow was allowed to re-marry her husband's brother (RV., X., 40) "who draws you to his house, as a widow does her brother-in-law to the couch, or as a woman does a man?" The ancient law of India corresponded in this respect with the law of the Jews. I quote from XXV, 5, Deuteronomy. "If brothers dwell together and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife and perform the duty on an husband's brother unto her."; also Mathew, XXII, 24.... " Saying, Master, Moses said, if a man die, having no children his brother shall marry his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother."

Cutting up of flesh for sacrificial purposes is mentioned in 1, 161, 10 "another trims the flesh brought on the carving board." Cooking of a Bull and hundreds of buffaloes being eaten is mentioned *e.g* V. 29, 8, "when thou three hundred buffaloes' flesh had'st eaten". As these animals were offered in sacrifice, they also formed a part of human food. Indra is said to eat the flesh of bulls or buffaloes, at the same time that he drinks the draughts of soma. Several passages show that wine was in use. "When drunk they

(soma-draughts) contend in thy stomach, as men maddened with wine" (VIII, 2, 12).

The Vedas are the oldest of all Indian books. They are the most authentic source of information regarding the earliest language of the Indians. The Vedic hymns have been preserved unchanged from a very remote period and faithfully exhibit the social, religious conditions of the time in which they were composed. Let us see what profession and trades were followed in the old Punjab and Sindh.

That man is said to be a skilled physician and both a slayer of Rakshases and a repeller of diseases, by whom all plants are collected, like kings in an assembly (X, 97, 6). The carriage-builder is mentioned for chariots were in use. Weapons of war, spears, swords and knives are mentioned constantly shows there were skillful artizans. Weaving was universally practised. The art of boat and ship building was well known; for boats are mentioned to be propelled by oars; ships are spoken of as going to sea. Rope-making must have been practised, as ropes are mentioned in I, 162, 8. Working in leather must have been also common, as hides and skins for holding water and wine are constantly referred to. (I, 191, 10; IV, 45, 1, 3, etc.)

To the gambler agriculture is recommended; R.V. X, 34, 13. "never play with the dice; practice husbandry, rejoice in thy property, estimating it sufficient". As Watercourses, natural or artificial are mentioned, we can infer that the irrigation of lands under cultivation may have been practised. In R.V. X., 142, 4, we have clear allusions to shaving; "As when a barber shaves a beard, thou shavest earth when the wind blows on thy flame and fans it."

Gaming or gambling was a frequent amusement; also dancers or actors afforded amusement.

Thieves or robbers are mentioned in some passages as infesting the highways or stealing secretly.

The Rig Veda sanhita contains the most extensive collection of the most ancient Vedic hymns in their complete form. It is divided into ten mandals, and contains in all 1017 hymns.

We will add something to the geography of the Veda, then we will take up the races and tribes.

Two rivers Hariyupiya and Vavyati are mentioned in Bk. VI, 27.5 and 6 Sayana, the commentator says they are the same; if so, as I have said above, it is the Zob river.

Sarasvati, Drishdavati and Apyya, III, 23, 4.

The Sarasvati appears to have been to the early Indians what the Ganga became to their descendants.

"I place thee, Agni, on the abode of Ila, on the most excellent spot of the earth, on the most auspicious of days. Shine, so as to enrich us in a place of human resort, on the banks of the Drishavati, the Apaya, the Sarasvati.

Apaya is not mentioned elsewhere appears to have been a little stream in the same neighbourhood, near the earlier settlement of the Aryan settlement.

Kurukshetra, the country west of the Jamna and stretching from the Sarasvati on the north towards Vindravana and Mathura.

Arjika, Sushoma, Saryanavau.

VII. 7, 28. — Sushoma, Saryanavan and Arjika, full of homes, have they, these heroes, sought with downward car.

IX, 113, 1 & 2. — Let Vritra — slaying Indra drink soma by Saryanavan's side, etc.

Lord of the Quarters, flow thou on, boon soma from Arika land, etc.

In X, 75, 5. The poet invokes the rivers: —

Favour ye this my land, O Ganga, Yamuna, O Saturdi, Purushni, and Sarasvati with Askini, Vitasta, O Marudvridha, O Argikya, with Sushoma hear my call.

Argikya and Sushoma are said to be Vipas (Beas) and Sindhu.

Argikya is the district in N. W. India where the river flows and the people Arjikas, are a non Aryan people.

Saryanavan is a lake and district in Kurukshetra near modern Delhi.

Moroudvribha, ou Rawi, la riviere de Lahor.

Let us see the tribes, races and their kings, mentioned in the Rig Veda:

VII. 18-19. — Yamuna, and the Tritsus, aided Indra. There he stripped Bheda of all his treasures.

The Ajas and the Sigrus and the Yakshus brought into him as tribute heads of horses.

Bheda was the king of these three non-aryan tribes.

Tritsu the tribes of which Sudas was king. The ten kings of the confederate tribes opposed Sudas. Bharatas are the same as the Tritsus.

V, 30, 12. Rusamas. This good deed have the Rusamas done, Agni, that they have granted me four thousand and cattle. We have received Rinanchay's wealth, heroes the most heroic, which was freely offered.

Rinanchya, king of the Rusmas, Babhru, a Rishi, assisted the Rusmas, a neighbouring people, in a successful foray, and to have been rewarded with a large portion of the booty.

Srindjaya (Srinjaya). IV, 15, 4. He who is kindled eastward for Srinjaya, Devavata's son, resplendent tamer of the foe.

VI, 47, 25. Thus Srinjaya's son honoured the Bharadvajas, recipients of all noble gifts and bounty.

Srinjaya, a certain soma-sacrificer. The Srinjaya are also a people in the west of India. Bharadvaja is a very celebrated Rishi.

Chedi (Tchedi) VIII, 5, 38-39. He who hath given me for mine own ten kings like gold to look upon. At Chaidya's feet are all the people round about, all those who think upon the shield No man, not any, goes upon the path on which the Chedis walk. No other prince, no folk is held more liberal of gifts than they.

"Who think upon the shield" means "who are practised in wearing armour of leather."

One chieftan Kasu, son of Chedi, is even said to have given to the Rishi ten kings, brilliant as gold.

Saint Martin in "Etude sur la Geographie du Veda" writes: —

Translation. — Such are also the Rousama and the *Gongou, who did not perhaps attach themselves to the Aryan people except by the adoption of religion, as well by other tribes of the race of Yadou, of whom it is always said as of the Aryan tribe, friends of Indra, although by their origin they belonged to the race of the Dasyous, that is to say (*i.e.*) to the aboriginal people. We shall say of them as much as about of the names of Srindjaya and of Tchedi or Tchedya, who appear in several hymns, as those of princes friends of Indra. These names, as in several other cases could belong at the same time to the chief and to his tribe for the Srindjaya and Tchedi figure in all the following heroic history of India. But they figure as the tribe as tribes of the race of Yadou a race whose aboriginal origin or non-aryan there is no doubt that they have even this day descendants, with their ancient name first the people inhabiting the mountains of the north of India and the central Himalaya. We shall find these two people and we shall follow their ethnological history in our studies on the population of ancient India.

Ikchvakou is the name of an Aryan tribe in a hymn of the Vedic collection; this hymn which ought to belong to later years of the Veda, celebrates a prince named Asamati, under whom Ikchvakou grew "wealthy and foe-destroying." Later the name of Ikchvakou holds a great place in the legendary traditions of the heroic epoch, as the founder of the solar race of Ayodhya. Of the other states, governed by the princes of the same family they established themselves in very ancient times on the plains of the Ganges,

especially at Vaicali, upon the lower Gandaki, and at Mithila in the country of the same name.

Ikshvaku's name occurs in RV. X, 60, 4. He was the former king of Ayodhya.

Gungus. A non-aryan people, occurs in RV. X, 48, 8.

Muir in Vol. II of Sanskrit Texts devotes pages 397-405 to the march of the Brahmans (as the Aryans are called with their worship from the Sarasvati eastward to Behar and Bengal. "Departing from Kurus (from Indraprastha) they passed through the middle of Kurujangala, and came to the lovely Padma lake. Then passing Kalakuta, they crossed successively on one mountain (or in Ekaparvataka?) the rivers Gandaki, Mahasona and Sadarina. Having then crossed the beautiful Sarayu and seen the eastern Kosala they rossed the river Mala Charmanvati and came to Mithila.

Nicol Macnicol in his *Hindu Scriptures* writes: —

> "Scholars in the West incline to suggest for the composition of the earliest of these hymns a date ranging between 1500 B.C. and 1200 B.C. Indian tradition, on the other hand claims for them a much earlier antiquity. Any judgment on this matter has to be based entirely, it must be remembered, on internal evidence derived from the hymns themselves, and is, in consequence, uncertain. It is, however, obvious that this literature is earlier than that of either Greece or Israel, and reveals a high level of civilisation among those who found in it the expression of their wroship. The view may be said still to hold the field that the hymns represent the experiences of Aryan tribes as they establish themselves among hostile aborigines in the north-west of India.
>
> The collection comprises ten books, and a total of 1017 hymns. These grew into their present form, it is surmised, during a long period — perhaps eight centuries — and it is possible to see some indications of change and development when we consider the characteristic of the deities worshipped and the ideas that are associated with one god or another."

In Book I, 108, 8 the poet mentions the Aryan races: —

"If O Indra and Agni, ye are abiding among the Yadus, Turvasas, Druhyes, Anus, Purus — come hither, vigorous heroes, from all quarters, and drink the Soma which has been poured out." Though these Aryan tribes are mentioned separately in the Rig Veda, this is the only text in which they are all connected with one another.

The poet begins to recount the events of Sudas' victorious expedition, VII, 18, 5. "What though the floods spread widely, Indra made them shallow and easy for Sudas to traverse. He worthy of our praises caused the Simyu, foe of our hymn, to curse the river's fury. Eager for spoil was Turvasa Purodas, fain to win wealth, like fishes urged by hunger. The Bhrigus and the Druhyus quickly listened; friend rescued friend mid the two distant peoples." In this stanza Sudas, king or chief of the Tritsu tribe has, with the aid of Indra, crossed a deep river (Purushni *i.e.*, the Ravi) and put the Simyus to flight, some of the fugitives were drowned in the waters. The Simyus are mentioned together with the Dasyus in I, 100, 18, as hostile barbarians slain by Indra. Professor Roth in his Lexicon,s. v. *dasyu* defines that word as denoting 1, a class of superhuman beings, who are maliciously disposed both to gods and men and are overcome by Indra and Agni in particular." The word is (2) — he goes on to say — an opprobrious designation of hostile, wicked and barbarous men.

KRIVI. — The emponymous of a warrior tribe in the Punjab, in later times combined with or identical with the Panchalas. RV. VIII, 20, 24; also II, 17, 6 and II, 22, 2.

The seven rivers are mentioned often in the RV. VIII, 24, 27. "Who delivered us from the destroyer, from calamity, who, O powerful God, did'st avert the bolt from the Dasa from the Arya in the land of the seven streams. According to Prof. Max Muller, the Indus, the five rivers of the Punjab, and the Sarasvati; Lassen and Ludwig put the Kubah in the place of the last named.

Four rivers are mentioned in I, 104, 3 and 4. The two wives of Kuyava bathe with water; may they be drowned in the streams of the Sipha. This hath his kinship checked who lives beside us; with ancient streams forth speed and rules the Hero. Anjasi, Kulisi, and Virapatni, delighting him, bear milk upon their waters." Kuyava one

of the non-aryan chiefs. Sipha is the name of the river; about this and the other three rivers, St. Martin in his "Geographie du Veda" writes on page 53:

"Pour suivre l'ordre d'anciennete de leur mention dans les hymnes nous citerons d'abord la Cipra, puis l'Andjasi, la Koulici, et la Virapatni, nominees en meme temps dans un hymne du premier livre, a une epoque ou tout semble indiquer que les tribus n'habitaient pas loin encore des bords du Sindh. Mais ces quatre noms ne se retrouvent nulle part ailleurs, et nous n'avons absolument aucune donnee qui nous permette d'enhasarder l'application......

Le mot compose Virapatni Signiferait litteralment, en sanscrit, maitresse des heros.

TRANSLATION. — In order to follow the order of the ancientness of their mention in the hymns, we quote at first the Cipra, then the Andjasi, Koulici, and the Virapatni, mentioned at the same time in a hymn of the 1st Book, of one epoch or always deem to appear to indicate that the tribes did not live far from the border of Sind. But these four names are not found in any part, and we have absolutely given any data which permits us to hazard the application.

The word Virapatni literally means in Sanskrit "the heroes' wives."

Since writing the above I have come across a paper by Sir Aurel Stein published in the Journal of the R. A. Soceity, Great Britain and Ireland in 1917 "On Some River Names in the Rig Veda". He translates the verse in Hymn X, 75: "attend to this my song of praise, O Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati, Saturdi, Parusni; together with Asikni, O Marudvrdha, and with Vitasta, O Arjikiya, listen with Susoma."

He continues: the identity of the first four rivers here enumerated and also the Vitasta is subject to no doubt. They correspond to the present Ganges, Jumna, Sarsuti, Sutlej and Jehlam (the ancient Hydaspes still called Vyath in Kasmiri.) The order in which the first four are mentioned exactly agrees with their geographical sequence from east to west.

Hence Professor Roth... was justified in looking for the three rivers Parusni, Marudvrdha, and Asikni, which figure in the list between them and the Vitasta, among those of the "Five Rivers" of the Punjab that intervene between the Saturdi; Sutlej in the east and the Vitasta; Jehlam in the west. Guided by this sure indication he succeeded in correctly identifying the Asikni with the Chenab or Chandrabhaga....

No such definite evidence is available regarding the Parusni.... The main argument in its favour is that the Beas, the only other Punjab river of any importance between the Sutlej and the Chenab is repeatedly mentioned in other hymns of the Rig Veda under its proper ancient designation of Vipas.

If we pay attention to the position occupied by the name Marudvrdha in the list and bear in mind the fact that the narrow Doab between the Chenab and the Jehlam leaves no room for any stream to descend independently to the Indus, it is obvious that we have to look for the Marudvrdha either among the western main tributaries of the Chenab or else among those which join the Jehlam from the east. Now among all the affluents in question there is none comparable in importance and volume to the glacier-fed river which joins the right bank of the Chenab or Candrabhaga, as it is still known in the mountains in the alpine territory of Kishtwar, and which, in the Survey of India maps is shown as the "Mroowardan River." In its course of about one hundred miles it gathers as can clearly be seen in sheets 28, 45, 46 of the "Atlas of India," the greatest part of the drainage from the almost continuous chain of glacier-girt peaks which stretches from the big snowy massif of Amarnath (17, 900 feet above the sea) in the extreme north-east of Kashmir proper, to the head-waters of the Bhutna River culminating in the ice-clad Nun-Kun Peaks well over 23,000 feet high. Narrow and deep-cut in its lowest portion the valley of Maruwardwan open out above the point (circ. 75° 46' long. 33° 40' lat.) where its two main branches meet, and throughout a total length of about forty miles affords ample space for cultivation at an elevation of between 6,000 and 9,000 feet. On the west this portion of the valley immediately adjoins the water-shed towards the eastern part of the great Kashmir valley watered by the Jehlam or Vyath (Vitasta).

It is equally easy to account for the addition of the determinant wan, Skt. vana, at the end of the compound. The name Maru-wardwan applies primarily to the valley, and it seems quite appropriate that the latter should be designated as the "forest of the Marudvrdha" seeing that its lower and middle portions have their sides clothed with dense forests of deodars and firs duly marked in the Survey map.

Of the river names mentioned in our verse there remain two for discussion. The last of them is Susoma found likewise in a few other Rig Veda passage and for this Vivien de Saint-Martin has long ago indicated what appears to me the right indications. He took it to be the present Sohan River (also spelt Suwan) which flows from the outer Hazara Hills through the Rawalpindi district and reaches the Indus north of the Salt Range. With the Susoma; Sohan we have reached the extreme west of the Pancanada or Punjab Proper.

Mr. Sobhraj Nirmaldas has kindly made the following addition to the above paper

THE INDUS

In the mountains bordering on the kingdom of Kayabish, *i.e.*, Kabul, rises a river which is called Ghorwand, on account of its many branches. It is joined by several affluents: —

1. The river of the pass of Ghuzak.

2. The river of the gorge of Panchir, below the town of Parwan.

3,4. The river Sharvat and the river Sawa, which latter flows through the town of Lanbaga, *i.e.*, Lamghan; they join the Ghorvand at the fortress of Druta.

5,6. The rivers Nur and Kira.

Swelled by these affluents, the Ghorvand is a greater river opposite the town of Purshavar, being there called the ford from a ford near the village of Mahanara, on the eastern banks of the river,

and it falls into the river Sindh near the castle of Bitur, below the Capital of Alkandahar (Gandhara), *i.e.,* Vaihand.

The river Biyatta known as Jailem, from the city of this name on its western banks, and the river Gandhara join each other nearly fifth miles above Jahravar, and pass along west of Multan.

The river Biyah flows east of Multan, and joins afterwards the Biyatta and Gandhara.

The river Irava is joined by the river Kaj, which rises in Nagarkot in the mountains of Bhatul. Thereupon follows as the fifth the river Shatladar (Salej).

After these five rivers have united below Multan at a place called Panchanada, *i.e.,* the meeting place of the five rivers, they form an enormous watercourse. In flood times it sometimes swells to such a degree as to cover nearly a space of ten farsakhs, and to rise above the trees of the plains so that afterwards the rubbish carried by the flood is found in their highest branches like bird nests.

The Muslims call the river, after it has passed the Sindhi city Aror, as a united stream, the river of Mihran. Thus it extends, flowing straight on, becoming broader and broader, and gaining in purity of water, enclosing in its course, places like islands, until it reaches Almansura, situated between several of its arms, and flows into the ocean at two places, near the city, Loharani and more eastwards, in the province of Kacch at a place called Sindhu-Sagara, *i.e.,* the Sindh Sea.

As the name union of the five rivers occurs in this part of the world (in Panjab), we observe that a similar name is used also to the north of the abovementioned mountain chains, for the rivers which flow thence towards the north, after having united near Tirmidh and having formed the river of Balkh, are called the union of the seven rivers. The Zoroastrian of Sogdiana have confounded these two things: for they say that the whole of the seven rivers is Sindh, and its upper course Baridish. A man descending on it sees the sinking of the sun on his right side if he turns his face towards the west, as we see it here on our left side (sic.).

Saptu Sindhu

Names of the seven rivers that merged in the Indus, Biyas, Sutlej, — Chenab, Lindo, Ravi, Jhelum and Atok.

The Iranians in Ancient India — Especially in Sindh and the Punjab

By N. M. Billimoria

(Read before the Sindh Historical Society, Karachi, on the 20th December 1936).

The sources of ancient history are: 1. Prehistoric Archeology; 2. Ancient literature; 3. Foreign writers; 4. Inscribed monuments and coins; 5. Ancient alphabets; and lastly progress of research. I wish to show the sway of the Persians in North West India before the invasion of India by Alexander the Great and the fall of the Achaemenian Empire of Iran in the latter part of the fourth century before Christ. The Veda and the Avesta are the earliest literary monuments of India and Persia; they prove the relationship between the Hindoos and the Persians through ties of common Aryan blood, close relationship in language and tradition, and through near affinities in matters of religious beliefs, ritual observances, manners and customs.

Cuniform tablets which the German Professor Hugo Winckler discovered in 1907 at Baghaz-koi in North-East Asia Minro give additional evidence to these similarities. These tablets give a record of treaties between the Kings of Mitani and of Hittites about 1400 B.C.; among the gods called to witness are deities common in part to India and Persia. The Rig Veda refers to certain districts indicated by the rivers Kubha (Kabul). Krumu (Kurram) and Gumati (Gumal). The allusions in the Veda to Gandhara and Gandhari may be interpreted as referring to the districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi South East from Kabul. A part of these districts belonged rather to Iran than to India in historic times.

In the Encyclop. Brit. in his article on Persia, Edward Meyer states "The dividing line between Iranian and Indian is drawn by the Hindu-Kush and the Soliman mountains of the Indus district. The valley of the Kabul (Cophen) is already occupied by Indian tribes,

especially the Gandarians; and the Sataygydae (Pr. Thatagu) there resident were presumably also of Indian stock."

The first chapter of the Avestan Vandidad contains an allusion to a portion of Northern India in a list which it gives of 16 lands or regions, created by Ahura Mazda, and apparently under the Iranian sway. The 15th of these regions was Hapta Hindu, seven rivers, a region of abnormal heat probably the territory of Sapta Sindhu, seven rivers, the Rig Veda, mentions in the 8th Book, Hymn 24, line 27 "Who will set free from ruinous woe, or Arya on the seven streams, O, valiant hero, bend the Dasa's weapon down" that is from any Aryan enemy in the land of the seven rivers, probably the Indus. The district in question must have included the lands watered by the Indus and its branches in the north and North West of Hindustan, *viz.* Vitasta (Jhelum); Asikni (Chenab); Purushni (later named Iravati, hence its present name Ravi); Vipasa (Beas); and the easternmost Sutudri (Sutlej). Some interpret this "overlordship is seven" for Firdusi mentions seven princes of India, namely the lords of Kabul, Sindh, Hindh, Sandal, Chandal, Kashmir, and Multan. The Avestan fragment "from the Eastern Indus (India) to the Western Indus (India)" is explained by Spiegel that in Sassanian times and doubtless earlier there prevailed an idea of an India in the west as well as an India in the East. This is supported by a passage which is metrical and therefore old." The long arms of Mithra seize upon those who deceive Mithra; even when in Eastern India catches him even when in Western India he smites him down; even when he is at the mouth of the Ranha river, and even he when he is in the middle of the earth." The same statement repeated in part in Yasna LVII, 29, regarding the power of Sraosha, the guardian genious of mankind as extending over the wide domain from India on the east to the extreme west even when in Eastern India he catches his adversary even when in Western India he smites him down."

The river Ranha of the Avesta is the river Rasa of the Rig Veda for in Book I, Hymn 112, line 12, we read "Wherewith ye made Rasa swell full with waterflood and urged to victory the car without the horses. "In the Bundahish we read "These two rivers flow from the north part of the eastern Albroz, one towards the west, that is the Arang, and one towards the east, that is the Veh river... The Veh river passes by on the east goes to the land of Sindh, and flows to the sea in Hindustan, and they call it there the Mehra river." It is stated that the Veh river is also called the Kasak in Sindh.

One more allusion to the Indian connection. In Yast VIII, 32 mention is made of a mountain called Us-Hindva, meaning beyond or above India, or it may mean, "the mountain from which the rivers rise." It may mean the Hindu Kush or the Himalaya.

We have the following three authorities to show the Persian kings who came to India.

1. Firdusi narrates that Franak the mother of Farudin sent her young son Farudin to Hindustan to save him from the cruel hands of Zohak who invaded and conquered Persia.

The same poet gives the story of Asfandiar, son of Gustasp, who came to India and persuaded the Indian Ruler to venerate fire and accept the Zoroastrian religion. Firdusi is supported by a statement in a Pahlvi book that "Prince Asfandiar and Zarir his brother roamed about out of their country to the country of the Hindus for the spread of religion." This shows that from the very time of Zoroaster and immediately after, the Zoroastrian religion was believed to have begun exercising some influence on India.

2. In the Ain-i-Akbari we find that Hoshang the founder of the Pesdadian dynasty was the first king of Persia to come to India. Jamshed was the second person to visit India. He went to China *viz* Bengal Both Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi and Prof. Darmesteter state that when they visited the fort of Jamrud in the Khyber Pass, they heard that the fort was connected with the name of King Jamshed of the Pesdadian dynasty of Persia.

Nariman son of Kersasp, Sam Nariman Zal son of Sam, Framroz son of Rustom, Behram son of Asfandyar also came to India for conquest. Kersasp was told by some soothsayers that his rule over Zabulistan would be overthrown, and his own, and those of his heirs, dead bodies would be disintered by his enemy. In order to avoid this, he asked that his body may be buried at Kanauj in India. His followers Nariman, Sam and Rustom also made the same request and their request was complied with. Rustom had killed Asfandyar, father of Behman, who conquered Zabulistan and came to Kanauj to disgrace the tomb of Kersasp. It was believed that great wealth was also buried with the dead bodies of the Persian

kings. Behman carried away the treasure but did not disturb the corpses of the Persian Rulers.

3. According to Ferishta, Indian Ruler Krishna and Persian Shah Tehmurarp were great friends. Krishna's nephew and his uncle were not on good terms; so at the request of the nephew, Kersasp Atrart was sent to India to induce Krishna to give a portion of his territory to his nephew. After this time Sam Nariman invaded Punjab. He was opposed by one Mulchand, who at last submitted. From this time Punjab remained in the hands of the descendants of Faridun. It was governed by Kersasp and by the members of his family, the ancestors of Rustom. It formed part of the country of Kabul, Jabul, Sindh and Seistan, which was under the federal sway of Rustom's family. Kesurai the successor of Mulchand had asked the help of King Minocher against some of his rebel kings. Minocher sent Sam Nariman to his help. He met Kesurai at Jallander and helped him in subduing his tributary kings. Firujrai came after Kesurai. He turned ungrateful to Iran. After the death of Sam Nariman, when Afrasiab invaded Iran; he rebelled against the sovereignty of Persia and freed Punjab from its yoke. He took Jallander under his sway, and offered allegiance to Afrasiab. Upto the time of King Kekobad, Punjab remained independent under Indian rulers. Rustom then invaded India, and Firouzrai the Indian ruler fled to Tirhoot. Rustom then placed Surajrae on the throne. Later on Kedar Raja paid tribute to Kaus and Kaikhusroo.

Severa learned persons have shown that the Persians had come to India and lived there from the vedic times:

Several learned persons have shown that the Persians had come to India and lived there from the vedic times:

1. Prof. Spiegel in his introduction to Avesta says "The original abode of the Indo-Germanic race is to be sought in the extreme east of the Iranian country, in the tract where the Oxus and the Jaxartes take their rise... It might be imagined that not only the Indians along with them had migrated to the countries on the Indus and that Iranians, perhaps owing to religious differences, had retraced their steps to the westwards."

2. Prof. Maxmuller says: It can now be proved even by geographical evidence that Zoroastrians had been settled in India

before they migrated into Persia.... That the Zoroastrians and their ancestors started from India during the Vedic period can be proved as distinctly as that the inhabitants of Massilia started from Greece. Prof. Maxmuller in his Lectures on the Science of Language repeats the same opinion: The Zoroastrains were a colony from North India. They had been together for a time with the people whose sacred songs have been preserved to us in the Veda. A schism took place and the Zoroastrians migrated westwards to Arachosia and Persia."

The Parshus and Prithus are mentioned in the Rig Veda; either they were inhabitants or invaders of India.

In Rig Veda I, 105, 8, The Parshus (Persians) harass me all round like Rival wives. In VIII-6-46 "I wrested from the Yadva tribe 100 cattle in the province of Tirindira and 1,000 cattle in the province of Parshu. The third reference is in VII, 83-1 "O you men, looking to you and to your wealth the Prithus and Parsus fain for spoil, march forward. O Indra-Varuna you smote and slew the Dasa and Aryan enemies and helped Sudas with favour."

Cyprus appears to have subjugated the Indian tribes of Hindu Kush and in the Kabul valley especially the Gandarians. Darius himself, advanced as far as the Indus. Cambyses was more occupied in Egypt than in India.

Darius ruled from B. C. 522-486; from the three inscriptions executed by his command and other sources we find what the general outline of Persian Dominion in his time, and we can even infer that he annexed the valley of the Indus early in his reign. The three records in stone are; (1) the famous Bahistan rock inscription; 520 and 518 B.C. may be assigned to this incription; (2) Two old Persian block tablets at Persepolis; carved between B.C. 518-515; and (3) Two inscriptions chiselled around the tomb of Darius in the cliff at Naksh-i-Rustom, this must have been engraved some time after 515 B.C.

The Bahistan inscription does not mention India in the list of 23 provinces which obeyed Darius. It can be inferred that the Indus region did not form part of the empire of Darius at that time. The Indus conquest is assigned to the year 518 B.C.

Herodotus while giving a list of 20 satrapies or governments established by Darius expressly states that the Indian realm was the 29th division. About the amount of tribute he states:[1]

> "The Indians who are more numerous than any other nation with which we are acquainted paid a tribute exceeding that of every other people to wit, three hundred and sixty talents[2] of gold-dust. This was the twentieth satrapy."

On page 406 he adds "The way in which the Indians get the plentiful supply of gold, which enables them to furnish year by year so vast an amount of gold-dust to the king is the following: — Eastward of India lies a tract which is entirely sand. finally it was constructed by the great satrap Rudra Daman in A. D. 150.

Dr. Bhau Daji a great scholar said that the actual builder of the bridge on lake Sudarshana near Girnar was the Pahlava minister of Rudradaman, named Suvishakha, a sanskrit adaptation of the Persian name Siavaksha; his father's name was Kuaipa and Siavaksha appeared to be the governor of Anarta and Saurashtra (Kathiawar).

The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer says "The name of Suvishakha, as Dr. Bhau Daji suggests, may be a sanskritised form of Siavaksha. One of the Karli inscriptions gives a similar name Sovaska, apparently a corrupt Indian form of the original Persian, from which the sanskritised Suvasaka must have been formed. Sovasaka is mentioned in the Karle incription as an inhabitant of Abulama, apparently the old trade mart of Obollah, at the head of the Persian Gulf.

On page 551 of Rawlinson's Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy I find: —

The most important city of the southern region was at the time Oboll, which was situated on a canal or backwater derived from the Euphrates, not far from the modern Busrah.

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1. Rawlinson's Heridotus Vol. II p. 403
2. Over a million pounds sterling.

Sir H. Rawlinson places Obella twelve miles below Busrah, between that city and the place where Shat-el-Arab divides into two streams. He conjectures its identity with the ancient Teredon or Diridotis. (see also Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. I, p. 525).

This trade connection between the Persian Gulf and the Western India sea board must have led to a settlement from very early times of Pahlavas, who gradually became converted to Buddhism.

Karli Inscription. _ Parthian or Persian artists seem to have sculptured the rock temples in the Thana district — this dates from centuries before and after Christ. Harpharan of Abulama (Obollah a port near Basra on the Persian Gulf) whose name appears in one of the Karli inscriptions was a Parthian or a Persian. The inscription reads "In the 24th year of the King Shri Pudumava, son of Vasava this beautiful religious assignation is made of the mendicant Harapharana, son of Satru-parana, the devoted inhabitant of Abulama. Dr. Burgess says "the names of Upasaka Harapharna and his father Setapharna are unlike any in use in India and may possibly be of Parthians. The name of their family Sovaska has a resemblance to Syavaka, but their native place Abulama has not an Indian name. As the word Upasaka is generally used for Buddhist mendicants it appears that Harapharana was a Zoroastrian at one time, but subsequently became a convert to Buddhism. The animal capitals of the pillars at Karli Bedsa, and Nasik are so closely alike to those at Persipolis and Susa that according to Fergusson, the early Buddhists of Western India either belonged to the Persian empire or drew their art from it.

Inscriptions of Nahapana's Family

There are six inscriptions of Nahapana's family in the cave at Nasik, one at Karli, and one by Nahapana's minister at Junnar. In the inscriptions the names of Khaharata and Nahapaña occur they were either Persians or Parthians. Ksahharata may be equal to Phrahtes a satrap of the Parthian Dynasty. Dr. Fleet says: "I hold that the Saka era was founded by the Kshaharata king Nahapana, who reigned in Kathiawar, and over some of the neighbouring territory as far as Ujain from A.D. 78 to about A.D. 125 and held for a time Nasik and other parts north of Bombay and who seems to have been a Pahlava or Palhava or Parthian extraction."

Nasik Inscription. __ In this inscription King Gotamputra, (Ruled in 120 A.D. of Andhra dynastry) is mentioned as ruler of Mundaka, Surashtra, Kukura, Aparanta, Anupa, Virdarbhha, and was the lord of the Vindya and Paryatra (western part of the Vindya) mountains, the Sahya (western Ghauts) and Kanha (Kanheri) hills. He subdued Sakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas.

Manikiala Stone Inscription — Manikiala was one of the most famous places in the Punjab in very early period. It was called Manikpur or Maniknagar; it was in the South East of Peshawar and Taxila; 34 miles from the latter place. The stone inscription was put up in a market place, close to the object of donation, which was most probably an instrument for measuring time. The present was a joint gift of a Zoroastrian donor and a Buddhist priest. The translation of the inscription runs thus: "In the year 18 the King Puru-aspa, the son of an aggrandiser of the Kushan race of Kanishaka, the noble-men of the people establishes in the market place of the Satrap Vespashi, who is fond of the hours, for clear announcement through the ringing or proclamation of the hours — along with Vespashi, with Khudenti and with Buritra, the priest of the Vihara (Buddhist monastry) and with all attendants. May the useful gift by its meritorious foundation with the aid of Budha and Spenta (the Holy one) be always true."

Kshathra is an avestan word meaning king; Paru-aspa may be for Pourushashpa. The Iranian word Karapan is applied to teachers and priests hostile to the Zoroastrian religion.

Parthians in Gujrat and Sindh

Ferishta writes about the Indian king Sinarchand who paid tribute to the Iranian King Godrej, who was a Parthian.

Cunningham in his Ancient Geography of India writes "Thatha was the actual position of the Minhabari of the Arab Geographers and of the Min-nagar of the author of the Periplus ....The Name Manhabari is variously written as Mehabari and Manjabari; for which we might perhaps read Manabari or Mandawari, the city of the Mand tribe. This Mand tribe is referred to by Edrisi, Ibn Haukal, Rashid-ud-din and Masudi. The name is variously written as Mer, Med, Mand, Mind. The Mand tribe occupied lower Sindh in

great numbers from the beginning of the Christian era. To this people I refer the name Min-nagar or city of Min, which was the capital of lower Sindh in the second century of the Christian era. Min was a Sythian name. The appearance of the name in Sindh would alone be sufficient to suggest the presence of the Scythians; but its connection with them is placed beyond all doubt by the mention that the rulers of Min-nagar were rival Parthians who were mutually expelling each other. (NOTE. —These contending Parthians must have been the remnant of the Karen Pahlavas who joined with the Kushans to attack Ardeshir Papakan). These Parthians were Dahae Scythians from the Oxus who gave the name of Indo-Scythia to the Valley of the Indus."

Tod in his Annals and Antiquities of Rajesthan states that "Arrian who resided in the second century at Barugaza (Broach) describes Parthian sovereignty as extending from the Indus to the Nerbadda. Their capital was Minagara.

Indo Parthian Dynasty ruled in the Punjab from B. C. 120 to A.D. 60. Mithridates I of Parthia annexed the country between the Indus and Jhelum, or in other words the kingdom of Taxila in B.C. 138. The western Punjab formed the integral part of the Parthian dominion for a time; but at the death of Mithridates I, B.C. 136 the control relaxed. And about B.C. 120 a chieftain Maus made himself king of Taxila. He was quite independent as appears from his coins which bear the inscription Rajadhirajas Mahatsa Mous, "of Moa the great king of kings." The coins of Moa's successors Vonones, Spalahores etc. were found at Peshawar and in districts on the west bank of the Indus.

Mithridates II suprressed the independence of Sistan and joined these provinces in the Parthian empire. Azes or Aya who was deprived of Kandhar was allowed to rule at Taxila after Maus; he established a kingdom there in B.C. 90. The legend on his coins reads "Maharajasa Rajrajsa Mahatasa Ayas," of Aya the great, the great king, the king of kings (Ph. 586-92, Cambridge, History of India, Vol. I.)

Azilises came after Azes in B.C. 40; he ruled for 25 years. He was followed by Gondophares; he ruled from A.D. 20 to 60; He ruled over Arachosia, Sistan and valley of the lower Indus. Abdagases ruled after him for a short time. In the latter part of the

first century of the Christian era the valley of the Lower Indus was under Parthian cheifs. At this time the Sakas, the Tartars, and other wandering hordes from Central Asia were coming down in great numbers upon the North West frontier of India. The family of Volones ruled in Seistan, Kandhar, and North Baluchistan; and the descendants of Maus ruled in Punjab and Sindh until A.D. 25.

The coins of Gondopharnes and his successors are found in Seistan, Kandhar and Sindh. This is the ruler who had put St. Judas Thomas to death. The passage relating to this is quoted by Rapson in his Ancient India, p. 579, from The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles.

The date of the reign of Gondopharnes may be definitely fixed from a monument of this king's rule in the Peshawar district commonly known as the Takht-i-Bahi inscription. It is dated the 26th year of the king's reign and on the 5th day of the month of Vaisakha in the year 103. There is no doubt that the era is the Vikram Samvat which began in B.C. 58, and that therefore Gondolpharnes began to reign in A.D. 19 and was still reigning in A.D. 45.

To Azes I, has been attributed the foundation of the Vikrama era beginning in 58 B.C. and according to Sir John Marshall Indeed of all the inhabitants of Asia concerning whom anything is known, the Indians dwell the nearest to the east, and the rising of the sun. Beyond them the whole country is desert on account of the sand. The tribes of Indians are numerous and do not speak the same language — some are wandering tribes, others not. They who dwell in the marshes along the river live on raw fish, which they take in boats made of reeds each formed out of a single joint. These Indians wear a dress of sedge, which they cut in the river and bruise; afterwards they weave it into mats, and wear it as we wear a breast-plate."

By the sandy desert Herodotus means the desert of Cobi or Shamoo and the river is surely meant the Indus. He did not know the existence of Ganges which only became known to the Greeks by the expedition of Alexander.

Vincent Smith gives the summary thus: Although the exact limits of the Indian satrapy under Darius cannot be determined we

know that it was distinct from Aria (Herat), Arachosia (Kandahar) and Gandaria (North West Punjab). It must have comprised therefore the course of the Indus from Kalabagh to the sea, including the whole of Sindh and perhaps included a considerable portion of the Punjab east of the Indus.

Expedition under Scylax

There is a passage in Herodotus which gives proof of the annexation or control of the valley of the Indus from its upper course to the sea, including therefore the Punjab and Sindh; it showed that it was possible to navigate by sea from the Indus to Persia. About 517 B.C. Darius sent a naval expedition under Scylax, a native of Caryanda in Caria to explore the Indus. The squadron embarked at a place in the Gandhara country called Kaspatyros. The exact location is unknown but Sir A. Stein suggests Jahangir an ancient sight on the left bank of the Kabul River, some six miles above the point where it flows into the Indus at Attock. The fleet succeeded in making its way to the Indian Ocean and finally reached Egypt two and a half years from the time that the voyage began. It is doubtful whether this expedition was sent before or after the Indian conquest, it must be after, otherwise Scylax would have experienced the same trouble from unsubdued tribes as did Alexander the Great.

Sway exercised by Darius over the peoples of Indian Borderland

Of the 23 tributary provinces named on the stone inscriptions three provinces, Bakhtri (Bactria), Haraiva (Herat) and Zaranka (Drangian, a portion of Seistan) form part of the present Afghanistan lie more remote from the Indian frontier. The following five are connected with the region of the Indus; 1. Gandara (region of the Kabul valley as far as Peshawar); 2. Thatagu (either Ghilzai territory to the South West of Ghazni or the Hazara country further to the west and north west); 3. Harahuvati (the district about Kandahar); 4. Saka (Seistar) and 5 Maka, (Makran).

During all the reign of Cyrus, and afterwards when Cambyses ruled there were no fixed tributes, but the nations severally brought gifts to the king. On account of this and other like doings, the Persians say that Darius was a huckster, Cambyses a master, and Cyrus, a father; for Darius looked to making a gain in every thing;

Cambyses was harsh and reckless; while Cyrus was gentle, and procured them all manner of goods.'

Reference to Parsis and Persians in Sanskrit Books

The Hindu writers used the word Parasika for the Parsis and Pahlavas for the Parthians or Iranians generally.

In the Shanti Parva and Bhisman Parva of the Mahabharata, the Pahlavas are mentioned. According to Pandit Bhagwanlal, the Pahlavas came to India about B.C. 150. According to a writer of the Bombay Gazetteer seven leading hordes entered India from the North West and West. The Yavanas or Bactrian Greeks came to India from B.C. 250 to 125; The Pahlavas or Parthians from B.C. 170 to 100; From a paper by Dr. Bhau Daji on the Junagar inscriptions it appears that the Pahlavas were in India in about 120 A.D.

In the Vishnu Puran the tribes inhabiting Bharatavarsha, are mentioned; among them are the Parasikas. It is stated in the sanskrit drama Mudra Rakshasha, written in the 8th century A.D. that the Parsis helped Chandagupta in his invasion of Northern India. On the authority of the same book we know that "Parsiko Meghnad". The Parsi named Meghanada was a Raja and friend of Chandragupta. The same name occurs in another passage, thus —

"Among these the fifth is one of name the Megha the great king of the Parsis who has got a large cavalry. (compare Moghistan, land of Moghs or Magi another name of Hormuz Island).

In the Raghu Vamsa written by Kalidas in A.D. 550 we read about Raghu the great grand-father of Rama: "thence we set out by an inland route to conquer the Parasikas." This is correct for the poet further says that the horses of Raghu relieved their fatigues by rolling on the banks of the river Sindhu. He adds that Yavanas, Kambojas and Hunnas were defeated by Raghu. According to Dr. Hoernle the Persian king was Kobad who with the help of the Huns removed his brother Jamasp from the throne (A.D. 499). The huns fought with the Indian king Yashodbarman. They were assisted by Kobad who lost Sindh and some eastern provinces. This is the loss referred to by Kalidas when he speaks of the defeat of the Parsikas. Firdusi does not mention this loss in the time of Piruz or Kobad but

Tabari the Arabic writer says that a part of the Indian frontier belonged to the Persians in Beramgor's time. It passed back into the hands of an Indian King before the time of Noshirwan.

In the Katha-sarit Sangra, written by Somadeva in the 12th century we find the story of Udayana; he was king of Vasta and defeated the king of the Chola (the Tamil people of South India from whom the Coromandal coast (Chola Mandal) receives its name, they were the ancestors of the Chaldeans.) Having subdued the king of Sindh at the head of his cavalry, he destroyed the Malechhas. The cavalry squadron of the Turks were broken on the masses of his elephants.... The august hero received the tribute of his foes and cut off the head of the wicked king of the Parasikas." Cunningham in his Ancient Geography of India refers to the story of Udayana thus "The story of Udayana, king of Kosambi is referred to by the poet Kalidas in his Megha-duta or cloud-messenger where he says that Avanti (or Ujain) is great with the number of those versed in the tale of Udayana. Now Kalidas flourished shortly after A.D. 500." If Udayana was a contemporary of Budha, the wicked Parsi king referred to above lived in about the 5th century B.C. Could this be Xerxes who was killed in B.C. 465 who was according to some writers cruel and wicked.

Al-Biruni mentions the names of the people of India on the authority of Vayu Puran placing the Pahlavas among the people of the north. In the same book he says that one of the names of the people in the South West was Parasava, *i.e.*, Persians.

Persians mentioned in Inscriptions

Taxila Inscription. — The ruins of Taxila are situated about 24 miles from Rawalpindi. Sir John Marshall excavated it; in these excavations was the ruins of Mound of Jhandial, so called from a neighbouring village. Sir John Marshall here excavated a temple which he calls the Temple of Jhandiala, and which he thinks to be an ancient fire temple of the Parsees of Parthian times. There is a tower of solid masonry with a foundation of about 30 feet.

Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi says that he is not a student of Archaeology "but as an humble student of Zoroastrianism, knowing something about its fire temples, and the customs of the firecult and having examined very carefully the structure of the Jhandiala temple

I venture to say that I observed nothing that could be said to go against Sir John's views about the building being a Zoroastrian temple of God. On the other hand in main principles the structure even resembled some of our modern fire-temples. But there is one point on which I have my doubts. The learned archaeologist thinks that the tower is the seat of a fire-altar at the top and takes as the ground for this view the fact that the Persians had their fire altars in high places. Of course he has the authority of Herodotus (Book I, 131). But I think that that view would not apply to later Parthian times about 500 years after Herodotus — to which Sir John Marshall attributes the temple on archaeological grounds. If some further researches lead him to attribute the temple to more ancient times — say the time when Darius the Great invaded India with his large army of Persians and when he passed through this part of the Punjab — then his view of the use of the Tower may possibly, though not assuredly, be held to be stronger..... Of all the modern fire-temples of India, the one at present in the old Parsi centre of Naosari seems to suggest this view and seems to come nearer to the Taxila tower. There near the place of the sanctuary wherein the sacred fire is burning there is a small two-storied building, reminding one of a tower, though not exactly a tower on which the worshippers went to have a look at the disant Purna river and to say their Ardvisura Nyaish, and even the Khorshed and Mehar Nyaishes. It was a place which gave them a more open look of the whole of the surrounding nature. The Taxila tower may have been intended for a similar purpose."

Girnar Inscription. — On a bridge near Girnar at Junagadh in Kathiawar, known as Rudra Daman's bridge there is a remarkable inscription of the Shah kings. The ancient bridge was swept away by a flood, that it was repaired by Pushpagupta, whose sister Chandragupta had married; it was subsequently repaired by Tushapa the Yavana raja, an officer of Asoka and inscription discovered by him at Taxilla is actually dated in the year 136 of Azes." This interpretation may be correct in spite of the tradition that this era was founded by King Vikramaditya of Ujjain to commemorate the defeat of the Sakas; and whatever may have been origin of this era the assignment of the reign of Azes I to this period is justified. It is consistent with the date ascribed independently to his predecessor Maus (B.C. 75) and with the date of his third successor Gondopharnes who certainly began to rule in A.D. 19.

Gondopharnes was reigning in the year 45 A.D. and Vima Kadpises was reigning in 78 A.D. Sir John Marshall discovered a Kharoshti inscription in the Chir Tope at Taxilla; it is dated the 5th Ashad year 136; the era which begins in B.C. 58, this date would be equivalent to A.D. 77-78, this is the last year of the reign of Vima Kadophises; his successor Kanishka began to reign in A.D. 78.

The history of the Kushana empire has been preserved by Chinese writers. We find that the Tartars who drove the Sakas out of Bactria consisted of five tribes. After a settlement of about 100 years in Bactria the chief of one of these tribes, the Kushan has gained the supremacy over the Tartars and founded a kingdom called Kushan. The Kushanas became masters of territory to the south of Hindu Kush, i.e., the modern South Afghanistan, the ancient province of Kabul and Arachosia that is Kandhar. Huvishka was the successor of Kanishka, the legend on his coins is Maharaja Devputra Huvishka; Huvishka is a Persian word; but he could not have been a pucca Zoroastrian, for no Zoroastrian would connect his name with deva.

Before I come to the Sassanian period the rulers of which dynasty were on terms of close friendship with the rulers of Western India, I should like to explain the Brahmi and Kharoshthi alphabets. Both the alphabets are of Semitic origin, *i.e.* they are ultimately derived from the same source as the European alphabets. Brahmi has been traced back to the Phoenician type of writing. It was probably brought into India through Mesopotamia as a result of the early commerce by sea between Babylonia and ports of Western India. It is the parent of all the modern Indian alphabets.

Kharoshthi is derived from the Aramaic script which was introduced into India in the 6th century B.C. when the North West was under Persian rule and when Aramaic was used as a Common means of communication for the purpose of Government throughout the Persian empire. That originally the Aramaic language and alphabet pure and simple were thus imported into Gandhara has been proved by Sir John Marshal's discovery of an Aramaic inscription at Taxilla. In the third century A.D. Kharoshti appears more fully developed in Chinese Turkestan, when its existence must be attributed to the Kushana empire. In this region as in India it was evidently superseded by Brahmi.

The Sassanian dynasty was on terms of close friendship with the rulers of Western India and became the leading traders. I will narrate further on the visit of Begram Ghor to India and his marriage with a Hindu Princess, Sapinuda. Firdusi says that when Behram Ghor carried away his Indian wife, and came to sea he saw a group of Iranian traders "because they were Iranian traders they were bold in travelling by land and sea." This shows that the Iranian traders went to India both by land and sea.

Tabari states that Shapur II built cities not only in Sagistan but actually in Sindh. Again King Phiroz founded two cities in India proper — Ram Phiroz and Roshen Phiroz.

There are several towns of Persia which have a prefix RAM, desire.

Ram Ardeshir, a town situated formerly between the province of Isphan and Khuzistan, and also named Tawaj or Tawaz.

Ram shiristan, the ancient capital of Sijistan before the Arab conquest, at present in ruins and replaced by Zaranj.

Noshirwan Adal, the Just (A.D. 531-579) and his grandsom Parviz (A.D. 590-628) were united by treaties and by interchange of presents with the rulers of South India and Sindh.

About A.D. 565 the dominions of the White Huns, namely Kashmere, Ghandhara and Peshawar, passed into the hands of the Persians. Tabari states that King Khusru II of Persia received an embassy from King Pulikessin II in about 625 A.D. and an embassy was in return sent to India, which was received with due honour at the Indian Court. In the caves of Ajanta there is a painting which depicts the court of the Raja, where these Iranian ambassadors are sitting on a gadi welcoming the foreign amirs who have brought a message and some presents. The dress and manners of the messengers clearly show that they were Persians. In another room at Ajanta an Iranian Ruler and his Queen are depicted, surrounded by two Iranian servants. Fergusson is of opinion that this picture depicts Khusru Perviz and his queen Sherin, and the Indian Raja is Pulukesh of Malwa. Tabari the Arab Historian states that Pulukesh of Malwa had sent in A.D. 626 a letter to the son of Khusru Parviz and the picture depicts the Iranian Messengers bringing a reply to

that letter. The picture show that the Ajanta school of art was derived from Persia.

On the authority of Mr. G. K. Nariman I state that in the time of Shri Harsha of Sindh, Persian army came to Sindh. The ruler fell in the battle, but the Persian contended themselves with devastating a portion of Sindh and returned; the son of the slain ruler occupied the rule of Sindh. He was himself overthrown in 621 — this shows that the event happened in the reign of Khusru Perviz. Coins found in North-West India with Indian and Pahlavi legends prove that this territory was under the Persian rulers.

Barzuya, the physician of Noshirvan was sent to India who obtained a copy of Panchtantra or the original of Hitopdesha, which he got translated into Pahlavi; also game of chess was obtained from the same source.

Early in the 7th century a large body of Persians landed in Western India and from one of their leaders, possibly a son of Khusru Perviz, the family of Ūdepur have sprung.

Cunningham in his Archaeological Reports has noted that the influence of the Sassanians was most strongly felt in Sindh and Western Rajputana where India and Persia came into direct contact; but in North West India and the Punjab it was overthorwn by the White Hūns and Little Yuchi who successively held the Kabul valley. The former were certainly fire-worshippers and the latter were apparently Brahmanists, but both had adopted the style of Sassanian coinage; he calls this Indo-Sassanian period, extending down to A.D. 700; shortly after that date the direct Persian influence came to an end in Western India by the Mahomedan conquest of Sindh and Multan by Mahomed Kasim in A.D. 711.

There is a tradition that the Ranas of Mewar were connected with the Sassanian kings of Persia; in support, Abdul Fazal (A.D. 1500) says that the Ranas consider themselves descendants of Sassanian Naushirwan (A.D. 531-579); there is no evidence to support this. But the marriage between a Valbhi Chief and Mah Banu daughter of the fugitive last Sassanian Yazdgard is not impossible. (A.D. 651).

There was connection between Persia and Western India; the fact is that a subsequent deteriorated issue from some mint in Gujerat now known as Gadhia Paisa has plainly been imitated from the coins of the Sassanides. Princep in his Essays on Indian Antiquities says "The popular name of these rude silver and copper coins is in Gujrat Gadhia ka paisa, equal to ass-money or rather the money of Gandhia, a name of Vikramaditya. The king was a powerful king of the western provinces, his capital being Cambat or Cambay; and it is certain that the princes of these parts were tributary to Persia from a very early period. Scholars have discovered on the coins the profile of face after the Persian model on one side and the Sassanian fire altar on the other. If this is admitted as proof of an Indo-Sassanian dynasty in Saurashtra, we may find the date of its establishment in the epoch of Yazdgird the son of Behram Ghor. This is supported by the testimony of the Agni Puran that Vikram son of Gadha-rupea (Behram Ghor) ascended the throne of Malaya (Ujjain) in A.D. 441."

Tod in the Annales of Rajasthan assigns the fall of the Valabhi empire to an army of Parthians and Scythians, but Elphinstone has suggested that the invaders may have been Sassanians probably under Naushirwan; and in this event we have an explanation of the occurrence of the Gadhia coins. Deteriorated as they are the bust and fire-altar of the Sassanides are apparent; we can conclude that either the Sassanian monarchy obtained a footing in Gujerat or that an off-shoot of the dynasty succeeded in establishing an empire there.

A Pahlava prince in Kathiawar in A.D. 720 built the fort of Elapur; in it he established an image of Siva adorned with a crescent; Cunningham thinks this may be Somnath. This Elapur or Elawar by transposition would become Erawal, the present Werawal.

Dr. Spooner's Excavation of Patliputra and his paper on Zoroastrian period of Indian History

Patliputra the modern Patna is the Palibothra of Megasthenes who was the ambassador of Seleucus Necator in the reign of Chandragupta about B.C. 300. It is situated on the confluence of the rivers Ganges and Son or Sena. It was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadha, or South Behar. It was formerly called

Kusumpur and Pushyapur, city of flowers. Patali is the flower Bigroia suaveolens.

The Chinese travellers, Fa Hien who visited it in B.C. 399-414 and Hiuen Tsiang, about A.D. 629, speak very highly of this city.

Megesthenes about B.C. 300-302, the ambassador of Seleucus Necator at the court of Chandra Gupta and Chanakya, the minister, left us some account of the magnificence of the royal court.

Strabo in his Geography mentions this city; so also Arrian in his Indica. I may mention that Chandragupta is Sandrakottos of the Greeks, Sandrakoptus of Athenaens, and Andro-kottos in Plutarch life of Alexander the Great. They city rose to its zenith in the time of Asoka (B.C. 250), the grandson of Chandragupta.

Pliny among the ancients, French Geographer D'Anville (1697-1782) English Geographer Rennel (1742-1830), Thomas Pennant, an antiquary (1726-1798), Col. Wilford, William Franklin, Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, and several others have tried to identify the city.

Dr. Spooner began his excavations in January 1913. As the work was expensive, the late Sir Ratan Tata made a generous offer to pay every year Rs. 20,000 to the Government of India.

Dr. Spooner first located eight rows of monolithic polished pillars. Afterwards he found the ninth row; each row has ten pillars. Dr. Spooner's wife gave him great help; it was she who first drew the attention to the fact that the pillars of the Mauriyan building resembled the plan she had seen at Persepolis.

The meaning of "Mauryan replica of Persipolis" was that the influence of Iran upon India was much more than it is ordinarily supposed. The excavations were on a monumental scale. The learned doctor produced numistatic, literary, and other evidence to show the certainty of a very powerful influence of Iran upon India.

Ancient Persia had its influence on Greece, Rome, Egypt, and other adjoining countries; the greatest influence was of their religion and that is they are called "The Puritans of the Old World."

It was Cyrus the founder of the Achaemenian dynasty who paved the way for the subsequent influence over India. Cyrus laid the foundation of Persia by taking Media in B.C. 550; Lydia in 546; Babylonia in 538; Egypt was added by Cambysses in 528; and Darius organised the Great Persian possessions in his long reign from 528-486 before Christ.

Dr. V. A. Smith the best authority on Ancient India has shown that Achaemenian Iran had a strong influence on Mauryan India such as—

1. Influence of Iranian architecture on Indian architecture.

2. The Achaeminian practice of inscribing on pillars and rocks and style of the inscriptions which were followed by Asoka in his inscriptions.

3. The Kharoshthi script came to India from the Aramaic clerks of the Achaeminians.

4. Some of the features of the Mauryan administration and polity and court customs were taken from the Iranians.

The style of some of the sculptured capitals of Asoka had its origin in the capitals of the palace of Darius at Persipolis. The style of the huge monolithic sandstone and other pillars of Asoka is also Persian; The bas-relief sculpture of some of the Mauryan buildings resemble that of the Persians at Persipolis.

Fergusson specially points to the capitals in the caves at Bedsa, about ten miles south of Karle, near Lonavla, and says Bedsa, about ten miles south of Karle, near Lonavla, and says "their capitals are more like the Persepolitan type than almost any others in India and are each surmounted by horse and elephants bearing men and women."

The other similar caves are at Bhaja about 4 miles south of the Karle caves near .Lanovla; 2, At Jamalgarhi some 40 miles N.E. of Peshawar; here the capitals of the old Perso-Indian type have new forms given to them the animal figures being whilst the pillars themselves are placed on the backs of crouching changed, figures with wings. The 3rd type is found at Tavagumpha caves near the

Khandgiri hill in Orissa where "the doors are flanked by pilasters with capitals of the Persopolitan types."

The debt of India to Perso-Assyrian art is strikingly apparent from two observations; 1, The sculpture of India proper — the India of the Gangetic valley — is mainly bas-relief. The Indians apply their bas reliefs after the Persian fashion. Their sculpture is bestowed chiefy on doors and vestibules, and as in Persia, the most important single figures guard the entrance of gateways in India. Even the unique bas-reliefs of Barhut have their counterparts at Persepolis and Nineveh. 2. the decoration of the Vihara caves was Persian.

Asoka followed Darius in the matter of his edicts. It was the practice of Darius to erect pillars in the countries which he conquered or through which he passed. We learn from Herodotus that in his march against the Scythians he "surveyed the Bosphorus and erected upon its shores two pillars of white marble, whereupon he inscribed the names of all the nations which formed his army." While digging the modern Suez Canal, some pillars of Darius have been discovered in Egypt. Asoka in his pillar edicts has followed this practice of Darius.

Darius inscribed on the sides of rocks and mountains. The best instance is that on the rock at Behistan. Asoka has also some of his inscriptions on rocks; one at Jungadh at the foot of the Girnar.

Darius commences every edict with the words "Thus sayeth Darius the king." Asoka also begins in the same way: "thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King."

The idea of inscribing ethical dissertations on the rocks in the guise of royal proclamation seems to be of Persian origin.

The Kharoshti script was introduced in India by the Achaemenian kings through their Aramaic clerks. The Kharoshti writing seen on the coins of the western Satraps of Saurashtra (Kathiawar) point to the northern origin of the kings.

Dr. Vincent Smith says that the civil and military institutions of the Mauryan Empire as decribed by Asoka in his edicts and by the

Greek writers were essentially Indian modified in some particulars by imitation of Persian practices.

As for Court customs, I give two examples; one of these is the custom of observing birthdays by the kings. Herodotus Vol. IV p. 381-82 when writing about Amestris the wife of king Xerxes says that "she waited therefore till her husband gave the great royal banquet a feast which takes place once every year in celebration of the king's birthday. Tykta the feast is called in Persian tongue which in our language may be rendered perfect and this is the only day in all the year in which the king soaps his head and distributes gifts to the Persians. The law of the feast required that no one who asked a boon that day at the king's board should be denied his request. The Indian custom referred to by Strabo. "Historians also relate that the Indians worship Jupiter Ombrius (or the rainy) the river Ganges and the indigenous deities of the country; that when the king washes his hair, a great feast is celebrated and large presents are sent, each person displaying his wealth in competition with his neighbour."

When Megasthenes was in India, Strabo speaks of the Indians of that time. "The Indians wear white garments white linen and Muslim contrary to the accounts of those who say that they wear garments of a bright colour; all of them wear long hair and long beards, plait their hair and bind it with a fillet. The Indian custom of keeping long hair among the Maruyan kings is believed by Dr. Smith to have been taken from the Achaemanian Iranian. The ancient Iranians kept their hair long. They seldom cut them. Old Iranian sculptures show that the Iranians kept long beards. Even now the Parsi priests keep beard which they cannot trim or cut.

Dr. Spooner wrote a paper in 1915 in the Journal of the R.A.S. of Gr. Br. & Ireland entitled "a Zoroastrian period of Indian History." This paper threw a bomb-shell in the camp of the orientalists. He advances a good deal of literary evidence in support of the discovery that the Mauryan building at Patliputra was copied from an Iranian building. He showed that upon the threshold of the historical period, a dynasty of almost purely Persian type ruled over India. That dynasty was the Mauryan dynasty, the founder of which, Chandragupta, the first great Indian Emperor was a Persian Aryan, a Parsi. He had Persepolis as his ancestral home. The Mauryan dynasty was Zoroastrian. Not only that but the Dr. says that Budha, the founder of Budhism, was an Iranian sage and as such was a

Persian. He affirms that the palaces referred to in the Mahabharata are the Mauryan buildings at Pataliputra, that the Asura Maya to whose supernatural power the construction of the palaces is attributed is the Ahrura Mazda of the Zoroastrians whom Darius often invoked in his inscription at Persepolis. The influence of Iran over India was much more than ordinarily believed. It was not confined to architecture; it was in matters of religion. Budha, Chandragupta, and his minister Chandakya were Persian, if not by birth, at least by descent.

Dr. Spooner, on the evidence of Indian literature, proves that the ancient Persians had, long before the Mauryan dynasty, settled in various parts of North India, from the frontiers of Punjab in the West to Assam and Orissa in the east, and from the valley of the Nerbudda in the south to the valley of Kashmir in the Himalayas in the north.

I had quoted a passage, from the Vandida, from which we learn the following facts about India; 1. That India was the 15th out of the 16 Aryan countries known to early Iranians, as created by God. 2. It was known as Hapta-Hindu. 3. The country watered by the Indus formed India, and its boundary literally extended further both ways, towards the East and the west; 4. It had two curses, heat and premature maturing of women. The age of Vandidad is B.C. 1200.

Next to the Vandidad we have the authority of Cuniform inscriptions of Darius at Persipolis and Nakhs-i-Rustom. Darius mentions amongst the conquered countries the name of India as Hidush or Hindush. With this conquest Persia must have exercised great influence upon India.

I have quoted above from Herodotus to show that India was the 20th Satrapy. Darius was not a flying conqueror of India. He wanted to retain the country for the good of India and Persia. He directed to retain the country for the good of India and Persia. He directed his admiral Scylax to explore the whole country watered by the Indus from Cashmere down to the sea. He developed commerce between India and Persia. With this object he connected the Red with the Mediterranean Sea by a canal, ending at its extremity at Suez.

The Punch-marked coins point Iranian influence in India. They are so called because the devices were impressed on the coins not by means of a die, but by separate punches applied irregularly at various points on the surface. Vincent Smith thinks that these coins were a private coinage issued by guilds and silversmiths with the permission of the ruling powers. The obverse punches were impressed by the different moneyers, and the reverse marks were the signs of approval by the controlling authority. Dr. Spooner does not agree. He thinks that they were Mauryan coins having the symbol of the sun, a group of suns, a branch, a bull and a chaitya. He asserts that the sun was worshipped by the Zoroastrians; the branch is Homa branch; the bull was the Mithraic bull; the Chaitya which signified a hill was the mount Maru, situated in Merv in Iran. Hence from this evidence of the Mauryan coins Dr. Spooner thinks that the Mauryan were Zoroastrians.

We have the tradition of a Brahmin Changragach who went to Persia to oppose Zoroastrianism; he returned to India fully convinced and in his turn converted about 80,000 Indians into the religion of Zoroaster.

Besides the evidence of coins, other proofs are adduced; one of them I will give when Chandragupta invaded Magadha he was assisted by Persian troops. This is narrated in a Sanksrit drama. Chandragupta besciged Kasuma-pura that is Patliputra with his troops consisting of the Scythians, Yavanas or the Greek Kiratas, people living below the Himalayas, Kambojas, Kabulis, Parasikas, Persians, and Balhikas, Bactrians. At the same time the enemies had also an army of mixed races. Both the sides raised armies of mercenaries.

The Parsis are indebted to Dr. Spooner for bringing the following facts; that a few centuries before Christ, the Persians fought in India for their Maurian masters, that their masses lived as subject-races in Northern India long before the Arab conquest of Persia, that their leaders were made chiefs and even petty Rajas and that Iranian masons had a hand in the erection of the Mauryan palaces after the style of the Halls at Persepolis.

Since writing the above I have come across a paper in French written by Mr. F.D.J. Paruck, a well known numismatist of Bombay.

The paper is "Observations sur cinq monnaies Sassanides", published in the Revue Numismatique, 1936.

Five coins are described; from the inscriptions on the first three coins he shows that Pirouz was a viceroy of Khorasan in the reigns of Sapor I and Hormisdas. Shapor I was sovereign from A.D. 240 to 2271, and his son Hormisdas ruled for one year and ten days; Sindh, Multan and Rajputana were under the Kouchans, and their ruler was a vassal of Hormisdas I, and perhaps of Sapor I. I will give the original French, lest I may be making a wrong translation. "Selon le Kitab-al-Fihrist. Pirouz fut le vice-roi de Khorasan; il le fut sous les regnes de Sapor ler et d'Hormisdas Ier. Aussi estil defficile de decider sous quel regne ses diachmes furent frappees. Ces pieces, cependant, nous autorisent a declarer que le Sindh, le Multan et le Rajputana etaient alors aux mains des Kouchans, et que leur roi fut vassal de Hormisdas Ier et peut-etre aussi celui de Sapor." Ier.

Translation.... According to Kitab-al-Fihrisht, Pirouz was the viceroy of Khorasan. He was such during the reign of Sapor I and Hormisdas I. Also it is difficult to decide in whose reign the coins were minted. These coins, then, authorise us to decide that Sindh, Multan and Rajpatana were at that time in the hands of the Kushans, and that their king was a vassal of Hormisdas I or perhaps of Sapor I.

On these coins Mr. Paruck reads the words MALKA INDI IRADA (TI) Malka is the king, and Inde signifies Sindh. For I translate what he writes. "It appears to me certain that the name Inde on these coins signify Sindh. The Phelvi form of this name is Hind, but by Greek influence the first word H is omitted. These coins were struck in the rule of the Kushans, where the Greek influence was at that time.... The short legend Malka Inde on the right depicts the personage sitting on a throne as being the King of Sind." Inde Iradati signifies Sind and Multan.

About IRADA (TI), that the name is given to the valley of the River Ravi, one of the five rivers of the Punjab, in the centre of which is Multan, which according to old Arab Geographers, was included in the kingdom of Sindh.

Rawlinson in his "Seventh Great Monarchy" does not mention Pheroz as the son of Artexerxes or brother of Shapor I; because, I

believe he never came to the throne of Iran, but was the king of the Kushans. For on his coins we read. Mazdesn bage Peroze wazung Kushan shah," that is, Mazda-worshipping divinity Firoz, the great king of the Kuşans." Kushan was the name of the dynasty of Yuechi, who for centuries occupied Transoziana, east-Iran, the south of the Hindu Kush and the North-east India.

The most celebrated and interesting coin of Hormazd II (A. D. 303-310) is a piece of gold coin struck on the occasion of his marriage to the daughter of the Kushan king of Kabul. Rawlinson in his "Seventh Monarchy" confirms this and says "Among his other wives, Hormisdas, we are told married a daughter of the king of Cabul. It 'was natural that after the conquest of Seistan by Varaharān II, about A. D. 28, the Persian monarchs should establish relations with the chieftains ruling in Afghanistan. That country seems from the first to the fourth century of our era, to have been under the government of princes of Scythian descent and of considerable wealth and power. Kadphises, Kanerki, Kenorano, Ooerki, Baraoro, had the main seat of their empire in the region about Cabul and Jalalabad; but from this centre they exercised an extensive sway which at times probably reached Candahar on the one hand and the Punjab region on the other. Their large gold coinage proves them to have been monarchs of great wealth while their use of the Greek letters and languages indicates a certain amount of civilization. The marriage of Homisdas with a princess of Cabul implies that the hostile relations existing under Varahran II had been superseded by friendly ones. Persian aggression had ceased to be feared. The reigning Indo-Scythic monarch felt no reluctance to give his daughter in marraige to his western neighbour, and sent her to his court (we are told) with a wardrobe and ornaments of the utmost magnificence and costliness."

It would not be out of place to give a short table of the rulers of Eran. Shapor I, son of Artexerxes or Ardashir I, ruled for 31 years from A.D. 24 (-271. Shapor had three brothers, Ardesar, Firoz, king of the Kushans, and Narses. After Shapor I, his son Hormuzd I, or Hormisdas, ruled from 27 -272, one year and ten days. His brother Varahran I, or Bahram I, ruled from 272-275. His son Bahram II ruled from 275-292. Bahram III ruled only for a few months. Narses son of Shapor I ruled from 292-301. His son Hormisdas II ruled from 301-309. The last ruler was Yezdegerd Shahriyar. The defeat of Nehavend in 641 terminated the Sassanian power. The

Arabs call the battle of Nehavend "Fattah-hu-Futtuh, Victory of victories; Isdigerd wandered from place to place from 641 to 651; at last he was murdered for the sake of his clothes.

In the above quoted extract from Rawlinson the conquest of Seistan is mentioned. On one of the five coins described by Mr. Paruck, there is a monogram SKSIN (Sakastan). This is the only coin on which this monogram is struck in full on the Sassanian coin.

One of the coins adds the word Hrezi. According to Arab geographers Haras was an old name for Rajputana.

As I said above Bahram conquered Sakastan which included the whole of the N.W. India. The Pahlvi inscription at Paikuli mentions several princes of India who had proceeded to Persia to offer allegiance to King Narses (292-3 1) on his succession. Among the princes were the prince of the Kushan, the prince of Saurastra (Kathiawar) and Avanti (Malwa) and other Saka princes.

I may add that Saka is modern Seistan. The Saccae are undoubtedly Scyths. They may have dwelt on the Oxus or possibly in Afghanistan.

Mr. Parruck in his "Sanian coins" writes:

A fine piece of silver in the Vienna Museum represents on the obverse the bust of Khusru II and on the reverse the bust of the Solar city, Aditya, both facing.... Dr. Nutsel of the Berlin Museum kindly procured for me the casts of this coin in the Vienna Museum and with the help of the three goldpieces, one in the Berlin Museum, the other in the British Museum, and the third specimen in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, I read this legend as Airan afzutaneti "May he cause Eran to prosper." These gold pieces bear the year 21 of reign whereas the silver one is of the year 37. Ouseley proposed to read the word Airan as the name of Queen Sherin, the celebrated consort of Khusru II, whose bust he believed to be on the reverse based on the analogy which exists in Pahlavi between sh and a. Mordtmann also believed that the bust on the reverse was that of the consort of Khusru II. On comparing other coins of Multan, whose reverse does not represent the bust of a female, but the figure of the sun a[illegible]a young man it will be seen that it is the bust of the solar deity Aditya. It was Cunningham who first demonstrated that the figure

on the reverse was none other than that of the solar diety, Aditya, whose temple was at Multan. It is probable that these coins were stuck at Multan, at the time of the expeditions of Khusru II to India or during his occupation of the country. The bust of the solar deity was worshipped at that time in Multan, as it is represented on other Indo-Sassanian coins also. But historians mention nothing precise as to Khusru II having been to India in the years 610 and 626, the dates of these pieces. Although the Huns were mainly instrumental in introducing coins of Sassanian type into India, it seems certain that shortly after the invasion of the Huns the Sassanian power or a dynasty acknowledging the Sassanian suzerainty was established in India; for coins of Sassanian type and fabric bearing inscriptions in Nagari, Sassanian Pahlvi, and an alphabet hitherto unread, which is probably a development of the modified form of the Greek alphabet used by the Scytho-Sassanians, are found in the north-west of Indian. These coins have been attributed by Cuningham to the later Huns, but apparently without sufficient reason. Rapson (Indian Coins) is however of opinion that they were almost certainly struck by some Sassanian dynasty or dynasties ruling over Sindh and Multan, which later the ancient Arab geographers include in the kingdom of Sindh, as is shown by the style of the coins and by the use of Sassanian Pahlvi. It may be noted that this region had been in the hands of Persian conquerors during the Parthian period. These coins are closely connected with the particular issues of Khusru II mentioned above, by the use of the same reverse type, representing the sun-god of Multan.

The adventures of Bahram V, (420-438, A.D.) in India and the enlargement of his dominions in that direction by the act of the Indian king, who is said to have ceded to him Makran and Sindh and to have given him his daughter in marriage cannot be regarded as fiction. Firdusi calls this Indian king Shankal. His native name is Vasudeve of the dynasty of the Maharajas Adhiraja of Magadha and Kanoj.

Malkan Malka has been the title of Persian kings from the most ancient times; the meaning is "king of kings". The words Malkatan Malkata, Queen of Queens is found on the beautiful gem of Queen Dinak, wife of Yezdegerd II, (440-457).

Mr. Paruck in his "Sasanian Coins" writes that this form is particularly interesting to note as it gives us the proof that if the

expression Malkan Malka was sometimes pronounced Shahan Shah, it was simply done on the ground of the dialect of the province where the word was spoken." In the first century of the Christian era we find the legend shahnano shah on the coins of Kanishka (A. D. 78-100) and his successors and the title of Shahi in their inscriptions in Sanskrit. The inscription of Samudra Gapta at Allahabad shows the title in the form of Shahi Shahanashahi. There is another notice to same effect about the middle of the 4th century. Persis Saporem et Saansaan adpellantibus et Pyrosen, quod rex regibus imperans et bellorum victor interpretatur. The translation is:

The Persians called Shapor Shahn Shah and Peroch, that is the king ruling over kings and victorious in war.

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Two Minor Invásions Of Sindh*

BY A.B. Advani, M.A., LLB.

(Read before the Sind Historical Society on 25th September, 1940.)

From times immemorial, Sind has been the lodestar, ever attracting the foreigners to plunder and invasion of this unhappy valley of the Indus. The Sumerians, the Sabáeans, the Greeks, the Arabs, the Pathans, the Moghuls, the Afghans, all have penetrated the Indus valley, ruthlessly ravaging its towns and temples, massacring its peaceful sons of the soil, and going back loaded with the wealth of its rich towns. For centuries Sind has groaned and bowed its head before the sword of the conqueror. Its ruined towns, and broken temples are a mute evidence of the heavy hand of vandalism on the bleeding head of Sind.

In this paper we will briefly account for two minor invasions of Sind in the 16th and 18th centuries. They are called minor, in the sense that the invaders after satisfying their revenge and cupidity, departed, leaving this unhappy valley of the Indus to lick its wounds. They are also minor, as the invaders stayed in Sind for a very short time.

(1) The Portuguese Invasion of Thatta

The Samma dynasty in Lower Sind was displaced in 1519 A.D. by a Moghul adventurer Shah Beg Arghun. The Arghun dynasty lasted for 35 years. Shah Beg Arghun died in 1522[1] and was followed by his son Shah Husayn. Şhah Husayn was a wise ruler and he gave his attention to the establishing of order in Sind. It was during his rule that Emperor Humayun fled to Sind and met with a series of misfortunes. Shah Husain continued to rule peacefully till 1555,

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* For Fuller Account Of These Two Invasions, The Reader Is Referred To Advani, A.B., *Sack Of Thatta.* The Young Builder (Karachi), July 1932, pp. 21-23, and Nadir *Shah's Invasion of Sind.* D.J. Sind College Miscellany, Vol. XXXV, No.2, pp. 21-25.

1. Haig, M.R., The Indus Delta Country, p.87.

when he died. Shah Husayn left no heir, the only son born to him having died in infancy[2]. During the long reign of Shah Husayn, lasting for 33 years, Sind had been divided into two subordinate governments. The upper Sind from Bakhar to Sehwan was administered by Sultan Mahmud, son of Shah Arghun's favourite—Fazil Kokaltash. The lower Sind was in the able hands of Shah Husayn. After the death of Shah Husayn, the most influential person in Lower Sind was Mirza Isa Tarkhan who had accompanied Shah Beg Arghun when he had come to Sind. Although Mirza Isa Tarkhan had secretly agreed with Sultan Mahmud that in the event of Shah Husayn's death, Sind would be administered by both of them separately, yet on succeeding the last Arghun Prince, he planned to constitute himself as the sole ruler of the whole of Sind. Due to the unsettled condition of the country, consequent on the death of Shah Husayn, some local chiefs had wrested the possession of Sehwan, from Sultan Mahmud, who retired to north and could do no more than hold the country to the north of Sehwan. Mirza Isa having a strong army, marched to Sehwan and soon overthrew the local chiefs there. After having annexed Sehwan to Lower Sind, he decided to invade Sultan Mahmud's country, and advanced as far north as Bakhar[3]. Finding his army for this task insufficient Mirza Isa Tarkhan sent his ambassadors to the Portuguese governor at Bassein, for military aid, in return for which, he stipulated to defray all the expenses of the Portuguese military aid and to allow special commercial advantages to the Portuguese. The Portuguese Government looked upon this as a very strong inducement to comply with the Sind Prince's request and despatched 700 soldiers in 28 ships under the command of Pedro Barreto Rolin. The fleet of 28 ships arrived safely at Thatta. In the meanwhile Mirza Isa Tarkhan came to terms with Sultan Mahmud, and Pedro Barreto Rolin was informed that his services would no longer be required. The Portuguese commandant asked Mirza Isa's son Jan Baba, who was in charge of Thatta to pay him the expenses of fitting out the fleet for service in Sind. The answer to this natural request was not satisfactory and aroused the fire of the Portuguese who invaded the town of Thatta. The account of this minor invasion is given in a line or two, in *Tarikh-i-Maa' sumi and Tarikh-i-Tahiri*. We however get a fuller account of this attack on Thatta in a Spanish work by Manuel de Fariay Souza, translated as *"The History of the Discovery and*

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2 Haig, M.R. Ibid., p. 96.

3 Haig, M.R. *Ibid.*, p. 96-97.

Conquest of India by the Portuguese" by Captain John Stevens (London, 1695) and in *"Histoire des Decouvertes et Conquetes des Portuga is dans le Nouve u Monde"* par le Pere Joseph Francois Lafitan, de la Compagnie de Jesus. Paris 1733[4]. We learn that on not getting a satisfactory answer regarding the payment of money to the Portuguese soldiers, Barreto landed his men in Thatta, and sacked the town. Some 8000 people were killed with inconceivable fury; even the dumb animals were not spared. For eight days Barretò went on destroying everything on both sides of the Indus. The wealth consumed by fire is said to have exceeded two millions of gold. Everywhere the Portuguese left frightful traces of their fury. They loaded their ships with one of the richest booties ever taken in Asia[5] including even the blue glazed tiles from the mosques and tombs at Thatta[6]. But the Portuguese vandals did not enjoy their ill-gotten plunder. On their return voyage, a violent storm arose on the sea, and Pedro Barreto Rolin was obliged to throw over-board practically all the spoils of his frightful pillage, reaching Chaul, with utmost difficulty. The sacking of Thatta could have been prevented, if Pedro Barreto Rolin had only waited for the return of Mirza Isa Tarkhan from Bakhar to settle the payment of money according to the agreement. Nowhere it is stated that Mirza Isa Tarkhan ever repudiated the engagements entered by him through his ambassadors with the Portuguese governor at Bassein. The young prince at Thatta, Jan Baba, being pressed to satisfy offhand the claims of the Portuguese, perhaps not having the authority to do so, gave an unsatisfactory answer, giving the Portuguese an excuse to invade and sack the unprotected town of Thatta and satisfy their greed and ferocity. We are inclined to agree with the author of the *Tarkhan— Nama* who says, "Intelligence arrived (at Bakhar) that the Firing is who were coming from Lahori Bandar to the assistance of

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4. Quoted in Danvers The Portuguese in India, Vol. 1, 00. 508-509, and Haig M.R., The Indus Delta Country, pp. 97-100.
5. Danvers, Ibid., p. 53.
6. In December 1981, I visited Goa, in connection with the Exposition of the body of St. Francis Xavier. In the Church of Bom Jesus, constructed in 1594 A.D., I was greatly surprised to find some blue tiles which are so peculiar to Sind, in the flooring of the said Church. My theory is, that these tiles are the same which Pedro Barreto Rolin must have taken from Thatta in 1556.
7. Elliot, Sir Henry, History of India, Vol. 1., p. 324, and quoted by Haig, M.a., The Indus Delta Country, p. 101.

Mirza Isa Tarkhan, *finding the city of Thatta unprotected*, had plundered it, set fire to it and made the inhabitants prisoners."[7]

(2) Nadirshah's invasion of Sind

Nadir Shah's coming to Sind in 1740 forms the subject matter of the second minor invasion of Sind, referred to above. Nadir Shah's plunder of Delhi, the massacre of the innocent citizens of that city in 1739, is too well known a chapter, in the chequered history of our motherland, but it is not known that this tornado of bloodshed and destruction rolled towards Sind as well, and struck it with its full force and fury. A detailed account of Nadir Shah's invasion of Sind is given in a translation of a Persian Ms., called *"Histoire de Nader Chah. Connu sous le Nom De Thamas Kuli Khan, Empereur De Persia"*, London, 1770[8]. Bearing in mind, that Nadir Shah was assassinated in 1747, this book may be looked upon as a reliable source of information.

In April, 1739, after Delhi had experienced the worst acts of vandalism and insensate fury at the hands of Nadir Shah's yahoos, Muhammad Shah, the Moghul Emperor of Delhi, concluded a treaty with Nadir Shah by which he ceded to him all the territories to the westward of the River Attock. He made over to him, "The Castle of Buckar, Sunkar, and Khoudabad; the rest of the Territories, Passes, and Abodes of the Chokias, Ballches, etc., with the Province of Tatta etc."[9]

Sind was at this time a part of the Moghul Empire, the Sind Ruler Mian Nur Muhammad Kalhoro nominally acknowledging the control of Muhammad Shah over Sind. When large slices of Sind territory were ceded to Nadir Shah, without informing or consulting Mian Nur Muhammad, the latter committed the blunder of refusing to recognize Nadir Shah as his sovereign. The Sind ruler, "excited by some groundless fears and foolish suspicions, instead of turning the face of unanimity towards the *Kabba* of the great Conqueror,

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8. There is an excellent copy of this book in the library of Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
9. Fraser James, History of Nadir Shah, pp. 223-226, published in England in 1742.
10. Jones M., *Histoire de Nader Chah*, Vol. II, p. 88.

refused to come and kiss the bar of the Court of Heaven[10] Nadir Shah was rightly incensed at this piece of insolence and foolhardiness, and leavng Cabul on 27th November, 1739, he marched towards Sind. From Dera Ismail Khan, Nadir Shah wrote to Mian Nur Muhammad to come with open confidence and pay his homage to Nadir Shah. He promised that he would seat the Mian on the *gadi* of Sind if the latter obeyed his orders, otherwise the whole country would be plunged in an abyss of calamity[11].

On 1st February, 1740, Nadir Shah's royal tents were pitched at Larkana and there the news was received that "Khuda Yar Khan[12] had verified the words of the Sacred Book *"The advice will not be profitable,"* and he was carried away by the folly of his heart to the coast of Gujerat and Surat[13].

On hearing this report Nadir Shah leaving his baggage at Larkana advanced to chastise the Mian, who finding Nadir Shah approaching inconveniently near, fled with his treasure to Umar Kot. He was under a happy delusion that the trackless desert, the thick forests, and the lack of good roads in Sind, would form an impassable barrier between him and the Persian conquerer. The bubble of this delusion was pricked by Nadir Shah and his hardy nomads arrived in the neighbourhood of Umar Kot on 16th February 1740. Mian Nur Muhammad was captured by the Persian advance-guard and was compelled to disgorge all his wealth which he had hidden in the underground cellars and subterranean passages of the fort of Umar Kot. This hidden treasure amounted to nearly one crore of rupees. The invading army left Umar Kot with Mian Nur Muhammad in chains and reached Larkana on 3rd March 1740. Nadir Shah pardoned the Mian giving back to him only the lower and the central Sind. The country bordering Baluchistan was given to Muhbat Khan, the chief of that territory and Shikarpur was given over to the Daudpotas[14]. This was not all. A penalty of an annual

11. Jones M., *Ibid.*, p. 90.
12. Mian Nur Muhammad Khan's title, conferred on him by the Moghul Emperor Muhammad Shah.
13. Jones M., *Ibid.*, p. 90.

14. Originally Shikarpur belonged to the Daudpotas and had been built by them. Between 1722 — 1730, Mian Nur Muhammad had made

tribute of twenty lakhs of rupees was also imposed on the Mian, and his two sons Muhammad Murad Yab Khan and Ghulam Shah were taken away by Nadir Shah as hostages. The royal dignity of Nadir Shah— the mighty warrior from the North, was thus restored, the Mian was soundly chastised, and Nadir Shah left Sind, having thoroughly disorganized the peaceful government of the country[15].

Such is the historical account of the second minor invasion of Sind. There are two other accounts, of ancedotal nature, which we feel tempted to give here. Sir Henry Pottinger, who first visited Sind in 1809, relates a curious ancedote regarding Nadir Shah which incidentaly throws light on the fabled opulence of Tatta in those times, "When the monarch arrived at that city," writes Pottinger, "he ordered Meer Noor Mohummud, the governor of the province, into his presence; who came with his turban round his neck, a wisp of hay in his mouth, and his feet covered, all customary tokens of submission, which the conqueror required; when he had prostrated himself before the throne, Nadir called out in a loud voice, and asked him, if he had a well full of gold! The governor replied laconically, not one, but two. Nadir then demanded if he had a *Lal*, a celebrated large ruby belonging to the Umeers of Sinde. Meer Noor Mohummud again made his former answer. The King threw up his handkerchief and desired to be informed what the Meer saw on looking at it. He replied nothing but troops and arms, which were naturally the ideas uppermost in his thoughts. Then said Nadir, "Produce your gold and rubies." The governor called for a Koolee, or very large basket, made in divisions, and used for holding grain and flour, which he had filled, and placed on his right hand; he next ordered a skin of *ghee* or clarified butter, to be put on his left, and said to the Shah, "I am a cultivator of soil and these are my gold and rubies in which I shall not fail you." The king was gratified by the frankness of the answers he had received, and bestowed on him an honorary dress. Meer Noor Muhammad afterwards entertained the whole army and followers, exceeding 500,000 people for sixteen days in the princely manner, and without a symptom of scarcity[16].

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repeated attacks on Shikarpur and had ultimately succeeded in wresting possession of it from Sadik Khan, the weak Daudpota chieftain. Cf. Shahhmet Ali, *History of Bahawalpur*, pp. 19-2

15. Jones M., *Ibid.*, P. 92 and ff.
16. Pottinger Henry, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde*, Foot No 3, pp. 352-353. This anecdote lacks historical veracity, because Nadir Shah

The other anecdote is equally amusing. When Nadir Shah came to Upper Sind after returning from Umar Kot, a poor old woman went before him and complained of various cruelties practised upon her by Mian Nur Muhammad. She then sought justice from Nadir Shah, who after patiently listening to this old woman's tale of woe, told her that he would pluck out the Mian's eyes for his crimes. The woman went away satisfied. When the Sind campaign was over and Nadir Shah was preparing to depart, the same woman appeared in the royal presence and boldly accused Nadir Shah of having failed in his promise to her. "Look oh! foolish woman," replied Nadir Shah, pointing to the two sons of Mian Nur Muhammad, whom he was taking with himself as hostages, "are these not the two eyes of the Mian that I have plucked to satisfy you[17]"?

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never visited Thatta, nor did he bring an army of 500,000 soldiers to Sind. It appears to have emanated from the fertile brain of some Thatta resident who wanted to impress Pottinger with the glory that at one time was Thatta.

17. I heard this anecdote from an old Mahomedan, at Larkana in 1932.

The English Missions Of 1808, 1809 & 1820 To Sind

BY A.B. ADVANI, M.A., L.L.B.

(Read on 31st May, 1936)

After overthrowing the Kalhora dynasty in 1783, the Talpur Chiefs became the rulers of Sind. By mutual agreement Sind came to be divided into three divisions among three chief Talpur families. The Hyderabad family with Mir Fateh Ali Khan as the head, took charge of lower Sind with Hyderabad as their capital. Mir Suhrab Khan went to Upper Sind and made Khairpur as his capital. Mir Tharah Khan occupied a small territory in the east and Mirpur became the capital of this family. The English Missions of 1808, 1809 and 1820 had their dealings with the Hyderabad family which was considered as the most important and most powerful family of Talpurs in Sind. The head of this family Mir Fateh Ali Khan, very wisely associated with himself, in the government of the country, his three brothers, Mir Ghulam Ali Khan, Mir Karam Ali Khan and Mir Murad Ali Khan. These four brothers owing to great attachment for one another came to be known as *Char Yar* or "Four Friends." Thus there arose in Sind, the extraordinary scheme of a joint rule. It was however a joint rule only in name, for during the life time of Mir Fateh Ali Khan, all the *sanads* and *purwanas* bore his single seal. It was during the rule of Mir Fateh Ali Khan that the English trade with Sind which had languished and then ceased during the rule of Mian Sarafraz Khan Kalhora, came to be renewed, at the desire of Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General of India[1],Mr. Nathan Crowe, of the Bombay Civil Service, was accordingly sent to Sind in 1798, to establish English factories in Sind[2], Mr. Crowe's stay in Sind was most unhappy, though very promisingly begun. Trade affairs went on well up to August 1800, when suddenly without the slightest hint, a peremptory order was issued, directing Mr. Crowe to leave Sind immediately, without fail or delay[3]. It is believed, the Talpur Mirs

1. Cox, *A Short History of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 296.
2. Hughes. *Gazetteer of Sind*, 2nd. Edi., p. 33.
3. Burnes, A — *Navigation of the Hindus*, p.2.

got alarmed at the growing power of the British Government in India. Persian and French spies were also responsible for arousing the fears of these Chiefs against the British agents in Sind. The Honourable East India Company suffered in addition to this insult, a loss of about one lac of rupees worth of property[4]. Serious notice was not however taken of this affair in Sind at that time, as the East India Company had sufficient trouble with the Mahrattas to engage all its attention. But the matter was neither forgotten nor forgiven.

Napoleon Bonaparte's phenomenal rise to power and his professed hostile schemes to conquer India gave no peace of mind to the English statesmen in India and England, in the beginning of 19th Century. Mir Fateh Ali Khan had died in 1802, and when his brother Mir Ghulam Ali Khan, soon after his accession to the *Gadi*, sent an agent to the Bombay Government, apologizing for the expulsion of Mr. Nathan Crowe from Sind by his late brother and desiring the renewal of friendly connections with the British Government, the British Government readily agreed. The Hyderabad Mirs sought this alliance with the British as they hoped thereby to so strengthen their position, that they could defy Shah Shujah of Kabul, an un-welcome visitor to Sind in 1803, whose nominal sovereignty the Talpur Mirs acknowledged. On the other hand the British Government deemed it expedient to renew friendly connections with Sind and thus check the intended invasion of India by the French and the Persian, by way of Afghanistan.

In July 1808, Captain David Seton was despatched by the Bombay Government to the Court of the Mirs at Hyderabad. At the time of Captain Seton's coming to Sind, there was actually a Persian ambassador at the Hyderabad Court, inducing the Talpur Mirs, to form a close alliance with Persia[5] "the bait being, military aid, to throw off the yoke of the King of Cabul, and the possession of the Afghan fortress of Candhar[6].

The Mirs willingly entered into an agreement with Captain David Seton, on 18th July 1808. The Deed of Agreement reads thus:—

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4. Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde*, p. 402, f.n. 2.
5. Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan*, Vol. I, p. 93.
6. Basu, *Rise of the Christian Power in India*, Vol. IV, p. 53, f.n.

This Agreement has been drawn up in consequence of Captain David Seton, on the part of the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, Esqr., Governor of Bombay, having arrived at Hyderabad, and having formed a firm alliance between the Government of Sind and the Honourable Company and Honourable Governor aforesaid.

ARTICLE 1

That a firm alliance shall exist between the two States, and the friends of one the friends of the other, and the enemies of one the enemies of the other; and this shall remain for ever.

ARTICLE 2

When the assistance of troops is required by either of the parties, it shall be granted when asked.

ARTICLE 3

That the disaffected of one Government shall not be protected by the other.

ARTICLE 4

That when the servants of the Sind Government shall wish to purchase warlike stores in any of the ports belonging to the Honourable Company, they shall be permitted to do so, and be assisted in their purchases, and on paying their value be allowed to depart.

ARTILCE 5

That an Agent on the part of the Honourable Company, for the increase of friendship and goodwill, shall reside at the Court of the Mir of Sind.

ARTICLE 6

The claims on account of former loss in the time of Mr. Crowe shall be dropped.

ARTICLE 7

That a British factory in the town of Tatta only, on the same footing as in the time of the Kalhoras, shall, after the full satisfaction, perfect confidence, and with the leave of this government, be established.

And through the blessing of God there shall be no deviation from this firm alliance.

Dated 1st Jamadi-us-sani 1223 or 24th July 1808[7].

The agreement was both political and commercial in nature. Through misconception of his instructions from the Bombay Government, Captain David Seton had bound the British Government, according to Article 2 of the above agreement, to render assistance of whenever required. The Mirs were overjoyed. They believed that according to the agreement they were entitled to seek military assistance from the British Government against the State of Cabul. Captain Seton now realized his folly. How could the British Government assist the tributary State of Sind against the King of Cabul, "whose good offices," the British Government "were so anxious to conciliate"? This agreement therefore was not ratified and Captain David Seton was officially recalled[8].

To annul Captain Seton's offensive and defensive alliance, to debar the agents of the French from admission into Sind and to re-establish the proper relative rank of the British and Sindian governments, another Mission was sent to Sind in the following year under the leadership of Mr. Nicholas Hankey Smith. The Mission consisted of seven members namely Mr. H. H. Smith of the Bombay Civil Service as the Envoy, Henry Ellis, Esqr., of the Bengal Civil Service as the first Assistant, Lieutenant Robert Taylor of the Bombay Native Infantry and Lieutenant Henry Pottinger as the second and third assistants, Captain Charles Christie to command the escort, William Hall Esqr., surgeon and Captain Willam Maxfield of the Bombay Marine to act as marine-surveyor. The

7. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads,* Vol. VII, 4th Edi., p. 53, f.n.

8. Kaye, op. cit., I, pp. 93-94.

Mission left Bombay on 27th April 1808, in *Maria*— a country-ship hired for conveying the Envoy and his suite to Sind, attended by the East India Company's cruiser the *Prince of Wales* under the command of Captain Allen. On 9th May 1809, the Mission reached Karachi harbour and anchored in twelve fathom water. On the next day the ships of the Mission crossed the sandy bar at the entrance of the harbour, the Manora fort garrison saluting them with two guns which salute the *Prince of Wales* returned. The native governor of Karachi soon after came on board and gave the Mission a half-hearted welcome. He seemed anxious to protract while waiting for instructions from the Mirs of Hyderabad. Few days later tents and stores of the Mission were landed on shore and with great éclat the Envoy landed distributing generously money among the poor natives on the shore according to Oriental traditions. The party remained for a month at Karachi and frequently experienced indirect hostility from the governor of Karachi. The native servants who were serving the Mission were for instance expelled from the fortified town of Karachi, some of them were tied to a post and some lascars filling fresh water for the consumption of the crew were beaten. The Envoy sent a letter of remonstrance to the governor of Karachi but received an unconvincing and an unsatisfactory reply. The letters of the Mirs to Mr. Smith were penned in a very arrogant style and Mr. Smith was advised by the native governor to address the Chief Mir in his correspondence as *Hoozoor* (the Royal Presence) which Mr. Smith sturdily declined on the ground that the term *Hoozoor* was only applicable to an independent soverign and not a tributary government like that of Sind. Before sailing for Sind, Mr. Smith had received pointed instructions from the Governor-general to repress any attempts on the part of the Mir to claim equality with the British Government and to claim from the Sind rulers the respect due to the British power in India. It was apparent to the members of the Mission that the Mirs were apprehensive of the British Government having designs on their territories and that their arrogance and buster were a mask to cover their dread. Political considerations made the Envoy to overlook the affronts to which they were all subjected. On 10th June 1809, the Mission set out for Hyderabad and after five marches reached Tatta where they took up their quarters in the East India Company's factory[9]. Delay in receiving

9. In spite of my persistent inquiries made at Thatta on several occasions, I have been unable to locate the site of the East India Company's factory at Thatta, of which no traces remain. The local scholars and

permission to proceed forward, not coming of the state barge which the Mirs wrote was to convey the Envoy and his party to their capital, heavy rains and other reasons caused the Mission to remain at Tatta up to the end of July 1809, affording the party leisure and opportunity to study the surrounding district. The *jumptee* (state barge) sent by the Mirs proving too small to accommodate all the members of the Mission, two parties were made, one to travel by water and the other by land-route. This was indeed welcome as it did not necessitate the fabrication of some plausible excuse for proceeding to Hyderabad by two routes and thus acquiring the utmost geographical knowledge of the country. Both the parties reached Hyderabad safely and pitched their tents on the bank of the Phulei canal, about one mile south-east of the fort of Hyderabad. The second day after Mr. Smith's arrival at Hyderabad, the permission for audience was granted. But here arose a little difficulty. Mr. Smith was given to understand that the Mirs would sit on the *Musund* or throne, considerably elevated from the ground. He therefore deemed it proper that he should have a chair to sit upon. He also insisted that the three Mirs should rise from their seats on the entrance of the Mission. The stipulation regarding the chair was however withdrawn on learning that the Mirs usually sat on a carpet, not more than two inches above the ground. As for the Mirs standing up a compromise was effected by Wali Muhammad Khan, one of the trusted ministers of the Mirs, by which the Mirs were to "stand up on the first appearance of the envoy and remain in that position till he had advanced to the spot at which he was to be seated, on the right hand of the Umeers; and that they were to observe an equal token of respect when we took our leave." The next day, escorted by Akhund Muhammad Buka Khan the Mission went to the Hyderabad fort, the roads, the tops of the houses, fortification, etc. all being covered by curious and applauding humanity. Inside the fort, the path was lined on both sides by fierce-looking matchlock men and the residents of the fort. Making their way with difficulty through the vast crowd, Mr. Smith and others entered the place where the audience was to take place. After dismounting and putting off their shoes the Englishmen advanced and the Mirs stood up to receive them. The audience hall was soon filled by a mass of attendants, matchlock men and swordsmen who unceremoniously crowded everywhere and some of them placed

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inhabitants are not only of no help but are even credulous of the existence of such a factory.

their feet on the scabbards of the swords and the skirts of the coats of the Englishmen. It is difficult to guess whether his was done designedly or by accident. Pottinger however felt that all this was intentionally done, the Mirs fearing treachery. In fact before this meeting they had suggested that the members of the Mission be disarmed before entering the Audience Hall. This, Mr. Smith, flatly refused to do. The first audience was merely an audience of ceremony, where compliments and expressions of politeness were exchanged. The members of the Mission were favourably impressed with the jewels the Mirs wore, the costly swords and daggers they carried, the rich carpets, the embroidered pillows, the genial personality of the three Mirs. "The general splendour and richness of the scene" wrote one of the members of the Mission, "far surpassed anything we had expected to see at the court of Hyderabad." A few days after this introductory interview, the Mission had another audience "at which everything was conducted with utmost regularity and comfort." At the end of the second audience, Mr. Smith had a private interview, the Mirs left aside their tone of imperious superiority and listened to Mr. Smith who explained to them that the objects of the Mission were to annul Mr. David Seton's agreement which had been concluded in the previous year and to enter into a new treaty with the Sind Government. The Mirs willingly assented and deputed three of their trusted official namely (1) Wali Muhammad Khan, (2) Akhund Buka Khan and (3) Mushtak Ram, to conduct on their behalf the consideration of the various matters pertaining the proposed treaty. The results of these discussions were quite satisfactory to both the parties and on 22nd August 1809, the following treaty of four articles was concluded with the Sind Government:—

Treaty with the Ameers of Sindh, August 22nd, 1809.

ARTICLE 1

There shall be eternal friendship, between the British Government, namely Meer Gholam Ali, Meer Kureem Ali, and Meer Murad Ali.

ARTICLE 2

Enmity shall never appear between the two States.

ARTICLE 3

The mutual despatch of the Vakeels of both Governments, namely the British Government and Sindhian Government, shall always continue.

ARTICLE 4

The Government of Sindh *will not allow the establishment of the tribe of the French in Sind.*

Written on the 10th of the month of Rujeeb-ool-Moorjub in the year of the Hegira 1224, corresponding with the 22nd of August 1809.

The Mirs sent Mirza Muzahar, as their Envoy, to Calcutta and the treaty was ratified by the Governor-general at Fort St. George, on the 16th November 1809[10].

Mr. N. H. Smith and the other members of the 1809 Mission now took leave of the Mirs of Hyderabad and embarked on the *jumptees* for the return journey and reached Bomby at the end of October 1809[11].

In 1811, Mir Ghulam Ali Khan died on account of a wound caused by a wounded buck grazing the Mir's foot with its horn. Of the *Char Yar* only two remained — Mir Karam Ali Khan and Mir Murad Ali Khan. Mir Karam Ali Khan was a genial sort of person during whose reign prosody was more popular than politics. Though known as *Rais* or Chief, yet the administration of the country was mainly carried on by his brother Mir Murad Ali Khan.

After concluding a treay with the Rao of Cutch in 1816, the power of the British Government had been steadily rising in Cutch[12]. As Sind borders Cutch, the British Government deemed it politic to renew the treaty with Sind in 1820. An opportunity came along in 1820 for negotiating a new treaty, when the soldiers of the Mirs of

10. Aithison, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 351-352.
11. The account of the Mission of 1908 is mainly taken from Pottinger, *Travels to Beloochistan and Sinde*, p. 331 and ff.
12. Burnes, J., *Visit to the Court of Sinde*, p. 194.

Hyderabad, attacked by way of retaliation, the British force, which while pursuing a band of plunderers of the Khosa tribe on the eastern border of Sind, had fallen on a party of Sindian soldiers, by mistake. Taking advantage of this incident, the Bombay Government demanded satisfaction from the Mirs "for the unwarrantable acts of hostility committed by the rulers of Sind[13]". A Mission consisting of Captain Sadlier, Mr. W. Simon, Dr. Hall and Major Wood House was despatched to Sind, to conclude a fresh treaty with the Mirs of Sind[14]. These four gentlemen were hospitably received and the following treaty was concluded with Mir Karam Ali Khan and Mir Murad Ali Khan, on 9th November 1820.

Treaty between the Honourable East India Company on the one hand and the Ameers of Sindh on the other, November 9th, 1820.

> The British Government and the Government of Sindh having in view to guard against the occurrence of frontier disputes, and to strengthen the friendship already subsisting between the two States, Mir Ismael Shah invested with full power to treat with the Honourable the Governor of Bombay, and the following articles were agreed on between the two parties:—
>
> <u>ARTICLE 1</u>
>
> There shall be perpetual friendship between the British Government on the one hand and Meer Kurreem Ali and Meer Murad Ali on the other.
>
> <u>ARTICLE 2</u>
>
> Mutual intercourse by means of vakeels shall always continue between the two governments.
>
> <u>ARTICLE 3</u>
>
> The Ameers of Sindh engage not to permit *any European or American to settle in their dominion.* If any of the

13. Malcolm, *The Political History of India,* Vol. I, p. 548.
14. Eastwick, *Speeches on the Scinde Question,* p. 47.

subjects of either of the two States should establish their residence in the dominion of the other, and should conduct themselves in an orderly and peaceable manner in the territory to which they may emigrate, they will be allowed to remain in that situation; but if such fugitives shall be guilty of any disturbance or commotion, it will be incumbent on the local authority to take the offenders into custody and punish or compel them to quit the country.

ARTICLE 4

The Ameers of Sindh engage to restrain the depredations of the Khoosas and all other tribes and individuals within their limits, and to prevent the occurrence of any inroad into the British dominions.

(Sd.) M. ELPHINSTONE.
Bombay, 9th November, 1820.

In the name of the Merciful God. This is the Treaty which I, Meer Ismael Shah, Vakeel of Shah Meer Kureem Ali Khan Rookn-ood. Dowla and Meer Shah Murad Ali Khan Ameer-ood-Dowla, concluded with Mr. Elphinstone, Governor of the populous port of Bombay, in the month of Suffer 1236 Hegira. If it pleases God, there will be no difference to a hairs breadth.

Seal of
Ismael Shah

This treaty was aproved of by the Supreme Government and ratified on the 10th February 1821[15].

A study of these three treaties shows that they are all of a political nature and were entered unto with the Sind Government to safeguard the interests of the British Government in India against the French, the Americans and other Western powers. From treaties of political nature to commercial treaties was the next step taken by the British Government — but I am anticipating my next paper.

15. Aitchison, op. cit. pp. 352-353.

The original of the Treaty of 1820 is in the Victoria Museum at Karachi. We are thankful to the Municipal Corporation for allowing us to take a photo of the Treaty.

Sind in 1809: Extracts from Henry Ellis' Account

By B. D. Mirchandani, I.C.S.

Read before The Sind Historical Society on 25-2-43

Crow wrote his "Account" of Sind in 1800. After him, the next contemporary account of the province is by Henry Ellis. Ellis was First Assistant to Nicholas Hankey Smith, the E. I. Company's envoy to the Sind Court, who in 1809 concluded a treaty of friendship with the Amirs, the object of which was to prevent the settlement of the French in Sind rendered necessary by Napolean's designs on India. After the return of the Mission, Ellis prepared a report containing "a short and general account of the resources and political strength of the State of Sind" based on personal observation which was submitted through the envoy to the Governor General in Council. This report has never been published before. It is an important contemporary document which throws considerable light on the internal state of Sind and the external relations of the Amirs' Government at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The following extracts from the report, it is hoped, will prove of interest to the students of Sind history.

"Although the country of Sind has been since the Treaty of Cession concluded between Nadir Shah and the King of Delhi nominally a tributary province of the Kingdom of Cabul yet the obedience paid by the Rulers of Sind to their Paramount has been extremely remiss and the advance of an army has been generally required to enforce the payment of the tribute. The present Rulers relying on the distracted state of Cabul openly declare themselves independent of the Monarch of that Kingdom and confine their demonstrations of respect to retaining a Wakeel at his Court.

"The internal government of Sind is, like that of most other countries in Asia, a military despotism and the supreme authority is vested in a triumvirate composed of three brothers of the Talpooree family whose names are Meer Ghulam Ulee, Meer Kureem Ulee

and Meer Murad Ulee; the eldest has the title of Hakim or Ruler of Sind and is considered as the head of the Government by foreign states, but he enjoys no greater degree of actual authority than what is procured by the larger share of the revenue that was assigned to him at the demise of his elder brother, the late Meer Futteh Ulee."

"There are two other members of the reigning family Meer Sohrab and Meer Thara who, although not ostensibly partakers in the supreme authority, possess large tracts of territory in Sind, exercise every function of government within their respective limits and are rather to be considered as federative branches of the State of Sind than as feuderatories of the principal Ameers."

"The Mahomedan inhabitants constitute the military strength of the country in war and are employed as husbandmen, artificers and menial servants during peace, while the foreign and inland commerce of the country is almost exclusively carried on by the Hindoo part of the population."

"The Sindian armies are composed of levies from the military tribes which form the majority of the population of the country; there are forty two tribes under their respective chiefs who hold their lands on a military tenure from the Ameers at whose requisition they are compelled to bring their quotas into the field."

"The Ameers of Sind when assisted by Meer Sohrab and Meer Thara are able to bring an army of 36,000 men into the field. The army is composed of irregular cavalry armed with matchlocks, swords and shields and intended to act as infantry whenever circumstances require it; it is not unusual for the whole of the Sindian army to dismount and to engage the enemy on foot; the Balochees are generally considered as good marksmen but do not enjoy among other nations a high character in point of courage or discipline; the pay of a Sindian soldier including his provisions is five pice per diem; during peace he only receives a daily allowance of one seer of rice.

"The revenues of Sind amounted during the Government of the Caloree family to 80 lacs of rupees, but are now reduced in consequence of the oppression and ignorance of the present Rulers to 42 lacs and 78 thousand rupees which amount is divided among the members of the Talpuree family; the annual tribute of 12 lacs

due to the King of Cabul, the payment of which is liable to be enforced, must be deducted from the above amount".

"After the death of Meer Fateh Alee his three surviving brothers, the present Ameers, divided the revenues and territorial possessions of their branch of the family into four shares of which two were assigned to Meer Gholam Alee as the ostensible head of the Government and the remainder in equal proportions to Meer Kareem and Meer Murad Alee. The sum thus divided amounts to 34 lacs and 13 thousand rupees; in return for this larger share Meer Gholam is bound to defray the permanent civil and military expenses of the state, the former however under the present reduced establishment are inconsiderable, and as during peace very few soldiers are maintained at the public charge and their pay is so trifling the actual expenditure of the elder Ameer cannot be considered to exceed in a great degree that of his brothers. Meer Gholam Alee is also bound to pay a double share of the tribute due to the King of Cabul in the event of payment being enforced."

"The policy of the Sind Government and the private inclinations of the individuals composing it are directed to the accumulations of money as the best security for their usurped authority against the attempts of foreign hostility or internal disaffection, the amount of the specie deposited in the different forts throughout the country is supposed to be considerable as a very small proportion of the annual revenue is expended."

"The obvious necessity of union and the ties of the relationship have not prevented amongst the Umeers the existence of the dissensions and jealousies generally attendant upon a division of the supreme authority; on the contrary the general causes of disunion have been aggravated by the particular defects of their characters which are remarkable for the absence of almost any moral virtue.

"The river Indus runs in nearly a diagonal direction through the Sindian territories and affords in it's course the means of successful cultivation to the husbandman and of secure and easy communications with the most distant countries to the merchants; for even under the pressure of an oppressive and ignorant government whose barbarous policy by seizing an undue share of the profits of the native trader, and by levying an exorbitant duty upon imports paralyzes the exertions of the mercantile speculator and

destroys the sources of future revenue, commercial adventurers from all parts of Asia are still to be seen in sind."

"Commerce and agriculture rapidly decrease under the rapacious and ignorant government of the Ameers, the duties levied upon foreign and domestic trade are estimated at two-thirds of the capital of the merchants and mechanic, and the unjust monopolization of grain which the Ameers compulsorily purchase from the cultivators at low price and retail at an exorbitant rate combined with the effects of their inordinate passion for hunting, which has induced them to enclose large tracts of land on the banks of the Indus for the purpose of preserving the game, have converted fertile and well cultivated districts into desolate wastes and impervious forests."

"The reduced amount of the customs levied at Carachee (the only seaport in the territories of the Ameers) which do not at present exceed 1,10,000 rupees is a sufficient proof of the decline of the maritime commerce of Sind; the scarcity of rain that has prevailed in Sind during the last three years has prevented the usual exportation of rice from the port of Carachee to India and large quantities have been imported during that period to meet the consumption of the country."

"The City of Tatta, formerly the seat of government of commercial industry, has rapidly decreased in population and revenue under the present government; the sum received by Meer Gholam Alee from this city under the heads of land revenue and customs is estimated at 1,45,000 Rupees. The Sindian cloths exported to India, Persia and Chorasan are manufactured at Tatta."

"Hyderabad the residence of the Umeers and the present seat of Government yields a revenue of 60,000 rupees. Although no encouragement is given to industry by the Umeers, the artisans of Hyderabad are numerous and workers in leather are particularly celebrated for the excellence of their workmanship."

"The customs and the revenue of Sind in general are farmed by private merchants; as the Umeers, with a view of increasing the competition annually remove the farmers of the revenue the latter have no interest in the general improvement of the country and direct their attention exclusively to receive the greatest possible

profits within the period of their control; and the Umeers frequently avail themselves of the extortions committed by the contractors in attaining that object as a pretext for confiscating their property conscious that no class of society will sympathise with their misfortunes and that the rapacity of individuals will still obtain purchasers for the revenue contract."

"The principal articles of home produce exported from Sind ar rice, ghee, hides, sharkfins, potash saltpetre, assafetida, delium, madder, frankincense, Tatta cloths, horses, indigo oleaginous and other seeds; alum, musk, saffrons and horses are imported from Multan and the countries to the northward for the foreign market; the other imports are tin, iron, lead, steel, ivory, Europe manufactures, sandal and other woods from India, swords and carpets from Chorasan and Candhar and silk and other articles from the Persian Gulph. The Mooltanee merchants settled in Sind are the principal shroffs (Bankers) and constitute the wealthiest part of the monied interest of the country."

"The intercourse between Sind and the countries to the northward is chiefly carried on by means of the Indus which is navigable for small vessels to a considerable distance from the sea. It does not appear that caravans proceed regularly from Sind to Multan and Cabul, although the route is frequented by travellers and merchants."

"The relation of the State of Sind to the kingdom of Cabul has been already noticed; the other neighbouring chiefs with which the Umeers maintained a political intercourse are the Rajah of Joudpore the Nawab of Bhawalpore, the Jumedar of Cutch and Meerkhan Lais, the chief of the petty state of Somnuany."

"The Ummers appear anxious to cultivate friendly relations with the Raja of Joudpore of whose designs upon the eastern frontier of Sind they entertain the greatest apprehension; the treacherous attempt made by the Wakeels of the former Raja of Joudpore upon Meer Bihjur, the uncle of the Umeers, appears to have been forgiven."

"The recent death of Bhawalkhan and the tender age of his successor have induced the Umeers to contemplate the seizure of the territory of Bhawalpore; as however Meer Sohrab conceives that

the proximity of his provinces to Bhawalpore gives him a superior claim to avail himself of the present favourable opportunity, the prosecution of the schemes of the principal Umeers will probably be attended with a rupture between them and Meer Sohrab."

"An intimate and friendly connection has subsisted for some time between the Nawab of Kelat and the Umeers; during the life time of Nusseer Khan, the late Nawab of Kalat who was distinguished by superior military talents and could command the services of the numerous hordes of mountaineers subject to his government, the connection with Sind rested upon principles of equality and mutual advantage; but since the death of Nusseer Khan the Umeers have succeeded in acquiring a degree of influence in the councils of his successor Muhmood Khan that will probably terminate in the subversion of his independence. The dominions of Gholam Muhmood Khan are situated on the north western frontier of Sind and extend to the borders of the Cabul Monarchy."

"Futch Mahmed, the Jumadar of Cutch is of Baloochee extraction and has uniformly endeavoured to secure the friendship of the state of Sind as a support to his usurped authority; the Umeers have encouraged this disposition in the hope of obtaining his consent to the intended annexation of Lucpaut Bunder to the Sindian territories.

"The territories of Meer Khan Lais occupy the sea coast to the northward of Carachee; he is a tributory of the Nawab of Kelat and is very inimical to the Umeers whose encroachments he justly apprehends."

"The progress of the connection between the King of Persia and the Umeers commenced at the instigation of the French and directed to the obtaining of their co-operation in the invasion of British India has already been brought under the notice of Government and as no change has taken place in the relations of the Sind Government to those powers, it would be superfluous to repeat the information upon the subject contained in the public despatches."

"A Wukeel from Jeswant Rao Holker has lately arrived at Kitee, the residence of Meer Thara, for the purpose of proposing an union between his Master, the King of Persia the French and the

Ameers against the British Government; the Umeers do not appear to have received the proposition with any degree of satisfaction. The Wakeel is eventually to proceed on a mission to the Court of Persia."

"The natural resources of Sind are considerable and would render an improved system of government, enable its Rulers to annex the petty states in the vicinity to their dominions; no increase of territory or augmentation of political strength is, however, to be expected while the present-timed parasitous and ignorant Rulers possess the management of public affairs; on the contrary the sources of revenue are rapidly diminishing and the misery and discontent of the people in general have reached a height that must soon terminate in the subversion of the existing Government and the horrors of civil war."

$$\frac{18}{5} + \frac{18}{13}$$

$$\frac{18}{5} + \frac{18}{13} = \frac{18 + 5}{13} = \frac{27}{2} \text{ Ans}$$

Did the British Introduce Christianity into Sind

By Rev. Achilles Meersman, O.F.M.

It is an error to state that Christianity was first introduced into Sind by the British. Actually Christianity came to Sind, before it went to Britain. In the first century of our present era St. Thomas, one of Christ's Apostles came to India, converted King Gondophares of Taxila (near Rawalpindi) who at that time was ruler over the Indus Valley. Therefore Sind had a Christian King, long before Britain had one.

Later as more and more people in Iraq, Iran and other neighbouring countries embraced Christianity, and these travelled along the trade-routes to the Indus Valley, there grew up a Christian community in Sind. There are indications that such was the case, but succeeding invaders have destroyed the manuscripts and monuments, which might have contributed towards a better knowledge of this first Christianity.

This first Christianity was, however, completely wiped out at the time of the Mahomedan invasions and it was only later, chiefly after Akbar had instituted a policy of, what we may term, tolerance and the Portuguese had acquired a goodly amount of power in the Indian seas that Christianity returned to Sind. In the beginning there were some Christian settlers, chiefly merchants and military in the Mogul army, but later priests arrived and chapels built. Later when the policy of tolerance was no longer followed the priests were obliged to leave Sind and the chapels they had erected at Tatta, Lahri-bander, Bhakkar were demolished.

Later Christians returned once more to Sind. When this took place, we have not been able to ascertain. All we know is that it was necessary for a priest to come from time to time to Sind in order to hold services for the Christians. This was done at least up to a few years before the arrival of the British. Thus we read that at least upto 1835 a Catholic priest of the Augustinian Order came to

Karachi for this purpose[1]. Then in 1840 a priest was stationed at Hyderabad and since then there have always been Christians in Sind with own churches and regular services. They have further contributed to the development of Sind chiefly through their educational work, which they initiated almost a century ago[2].

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1. N. de Figueiredo, Os Religiosos Eremitas de Santo Ogostinho no Oriente, Boletim Eclesiastico da Orguidiocęse de Goa, I (1942) 57.
2. Regarding Christianity in Sind see our articles: Christianity in Sind and Baluchistan in Pre-Portuguese times, J.S.H.S., 1937; Christianity in Sind and Baluchistan. From the Portuguese invasions to the British Conquest, J.S.H.S., 1938. The Discalced Carmelites in Sind, J.S.H.S., 1941.

Commercial Navigation of the Indus, 1820-1832 A.D.

By. C.L. Mariwalla, B.A.

Read before the Sindh Historical Society on 10th December, 1942

The 18th century saw the establishment of the British Empire in India and by the time the century was out the British had successfully become the masters of the major portion of the Indian sub-continent. But along with territorial acquisitions in India the British aroused the anxious jealousy of powers both Asiatic and European. By the time the new cnetury had dawned the dread of a foreign aggression on the British Empire in India was like the sword of Democles hanging over the heads of British Administrators in India. And different men at the helm of Indian affairs tried to keep off the sword. But there was a uniformity in the diverse policies pursued by the different Governors General. An active British interest in the countries beyond the Indus was the main feature of the policy to stem the tide of foreign aggression. Till the coming of Lord William Bentinck as the Governor General of India, a policy of active watchfulness was pursued. But Bentinck found the policy of his predecessors unsuited for the task and hence initiated a more progressive policy with peculiar and far-reaching results. His policy necessitated a prior prying into the affairs of other's dominions which finally resulted in some concrete good for safeguarding British interests in India. One such result was the opening of the Indus for purposes of commercial navigation, with ulterior political motives. And the co-operation of the Court of Sindh was an important factor in this direction. In this paper an attempt will be made to trace the incidents leading to the Ameers of Sindh agreeing to open up their treasure trove— the Indus— for purposes of commercial navigation.

Inspite of the two treaties of eternal friendship between the British Government and the Ameers of Sindh in 1809 and 1820 respectively there had been practically a complete lull in the political relationship of the two powers. Both of them were anxious to treat the Treaties as a dead letter the day they were signed. The English

never wished to cultivate friendship with the semibarbarous rulers of Sindh, as not much useful purpose could be served by their continued friendship. The Ameers on the other hand were ever anxious to shake off the friendship of the Feringee as he was known for his encroaching aptitude. Mere exigencies of circumstances had compelled both sides to enter into friendly alliances. Upto 1820 the British had never paid much attention to Sindh whether from the point of view of their North-West Frontier Policy or its importance as a source of wealth. Hence they avoided every hostility against Sindh[1], as that might entail its conquest and subsequent management. Sindh was considered a barren land completely devoid of yielding much profit. But border raids had compelled the British to collect armed forces on the Kutch border to over-awe the Ameers into orderly behaviour, specially during the time the British were occupied in Bhurtpore and Burma operations in 1825[2]. It was in the period of this lull that on a fine morning in October 1827 the British Resident in Kutch received a pressing requisition from the Ameers of Sindh for a Doctor to attend on the ailing Ameer, Murad Ali Khan[3]. Private reports did not represent the disease of His Highness as dangerous. And therefore every one began to speculate regarding the motive behind the immediate summons. Some at the Kutch Residency maintained that as the Russians had entered Persia, the Ameers had taken this mode of prudently making friendly advances to the British Government[4]. But that was the British point of view. The British themselves were alarmed at the news of Persia joining Russia in an unholy alliance, which was likely to affect their interests in India. Inspite of the British professing friendship with Persia through treaties, they had failed to aid their ally against its enemy, Russia, though there was a definite provision for this kind of emergency in the treaty. This non-compliance was the result of the diplomatic policy pursued by the British at home. When in 1826 Russia attacked Persia, the British could not help the Persians as they did not like to antogonise the Russians. Such a conduct would have adverse effect on them in the Greek question which was pending solution at the time. The Persians having learnt a lesson from past experience decided to make up with their arch enemy on any terms. It was a war for the annihilation of Persia which the Persians sought to avoid. Hence the dread to British India from the west by the combined forces of Russia and Persia. And the English thought that the danger to their dominions in India from this combined effort must affect the Ameers of Sindh first. But there is no evidence that the British surmise was correct. In reality the

Ameers had an enemy nearer home who had been threatening them. Maharaja Ranjitsing of the Punjab had an eye on Sindh and on the trade mart of Shikarpur in particular. By 1809 the British put a stop to the expansion of territory towards the Jumna by the Maharaja by taking the Cis-Sutlej States under their protection. Soon after, it appeared to the Sikh Maharaja that the only fruitful acquisition which remained worth covering, under the peculiar circumstances due to the effective British interference in his policy of expansion and the sporadic rise of Sayed Ahmed in the north against him, was the territory of the Sindh Ameers. Sindh was indeed the only direction in which the territories of the ambitious Sikh Monarch could possibly be extended[5]. His regular contact with Sindh began after his conquest of Multan in 1818[6]. The connection began with the usual exchange of presents and civilities annually. The Ameers at first were not conscious of the coming danger. It was only when the Maharaja came as far down as Sultan Shahr and sent Allard and Ventura to Mithan_Kote in 1823 that it became a point of anxious concern for the Sind Rulers to check the advance of the Sikh Chief. During the latter part of the same year and the next two years Ranjitsingh was engaged in making extensive military preparations under the guidance of the French Officers he had recently employed under him. The object of these preparations in the opinion of Captain Wade, the British Agent at Ludhiana was the conquest of Upper Sind and Shikarpur[7]. The ostensible reason assigned for this expedition against the Ameers of Sind was to punish the Baluchee tribes of Upper Sind for attacking Sikh troops near Multan. Though the Maharaja had advanced towards Sind in right earnest in 1825 he had to defer his conquest of the new territory due to the occurrence of scarcity in Sind[8]. The next year provided Ranjitsing with a fresh pretext for falling on the territories of the Sind Rulers. During this year he made a demand on the Vakils of the Ameers at his Court for the tribute which Sind formerly paid to Kabul since he had succeeded to the rights of the major portion of the Afghan Empire in India. As was natural the Ameers' Vakils disputed the demand though there had been a precedent for such a claim only recently[9]. The British had claimed such a right in the Cis-Sutlej territory as the successors of the Marahatas. Yet Ranjitsing kept quiet and did not force the demand on the Ameers due to a political exigency. The fanatic Sayed Ahmed had once again started his armed interference in the direction of Peshawar in the Sikh territory and Ranjitsing felt that it was expedient not to rouse the Ameers from their quietude. The information regarding the demand for the tribute made by the

Sikh Ruler supplied by their Vakils to the Ameers of Sind made them nervous though no actual hostilities had yet taken place. And the only solution for the Ameers lay in reviving their dormant friendship with the British. On the other hand the British felt that the opportunity afforded by the Ameers' invitation must be utilised fully to obtain an insight into the Ameers' dominions as it would facilitate the furtherence of their frontier policy against Russian aggression. At the same time compliance with the wishes of the Ameers would to a great extent minimise the doubts the Sind Rulers entertained about the English. So Doctor James Burnes, Surgeon to the Residency at Bhooj got ready to proceed to the Sind Court. He was rather anxious to see the classic river— the Indus— and the people inhabiting its valley. He left Bhooj on 25th October 1827 along with Gopaldas, the Ameers' Vakil at the Kutch Residency, with an escort provided by a small detachment of the 21st N.I., a few troopers of the Poona Auxiliary Horse and a dozen horse-men of H.H. the Rao of Kutch, the choicest of Indian soldiers[10]. The party crossed into the Sind Territory on 3rd November. At Ruree the doctor was received by two Special Officers appointed by the Ameers namely, Nawab Hyderkhan Lagharee, the Governor of Jatee, and nephew to the Chief Vazir of the Hyderabad Court and Bahadur Khan. Fifty camels were sent by the Ameers to be in attendance on the party and the honourable guest and his men were to receive everything free of all cost thence forward. None of them were even allowed to set foot on bare ground. The party received the best of treatment in every respect. The Ameers' nominees fully catered to the needs of the Doctor and his party. Nothing in fact seemed to be spared that could add to the Doctor's comfort or that of his followers. This is how Burnes himself describes the treatment he received from the Ameers' Officers, "nothing could exceed the attention I experienced on the route from my Mihmandars who themselves frequently sat up to watch me during the night. A large cotton mattress, covered with crimson silk was always carried near me in case I should feel disposed to alight; flaggons of cooled sherbet and other luxuries were also liberally supplied. TheAmeers had sent several hawks, which afforded an attractive sport on the road and supplied my table with every species of winged game[11]." When the Doctor was nearing the capital he was met by the Chief Vazir of the Hyderabad Court, Nawab Wulee Muhammad Khan. Lagharee, himself, being deputed by his masters as an additional mark of respect to the honourable guest. The Doctor had been met by Mahomed Khan Thora, a relative of the Ameers and Moosa

Cabitan, an officer of rank only 30 miles from Hyderabad to compliment him on his safe arrival. At long last the Doctor and his retinue reached Hyderabad on 10th November, early in the morning[12]. All this extraordinary treatment to Doctor Burnes, an Englishman, stood in contrast to the one meted out to the British Missions to Sind in 1808, 1809 and 1820. The reason for this extraordinary hospitality is not far to seek. Mahomed Khan Thora had made known to Doctor Burnes the reason why unusual preparations were being made for his reception at the capital. It was because other Europeans had come into Sind on their own affairs but he had come by a express invitation from the Ameers themselves and would therefore be made welcome in a different manner from them[13]. He was very cordially received by the Ameers at Court and he was much impressed by the scene before him. The Chief Vazir was appointed the host to Doctor Burnes so long he was in Sind. After the first interview was over the Doctor proceeded to his camp situated a quarter of a mile from the town, in a shady grove. His camp was indeed a haven of repose. He was the recipient of the best care which the host could show to a guest any where in the world. For his breakfast alone came a dozen silver dishes filled with prepared viands of different descriptions, all ornamented with gold leaf; other trays with baked meats were meant for his muslim servants and yet others bearing profusion of fruits, sweatmeats and articles of food for his Hindu followers[14]. A lot of waste was occasioned due to this super-abundance. The Doctor remonstrated with his host on the point and to please the honourable guest this extravagance was partially discontinued. On the evening of the day of his arrival Doctor Burnes was summoned to a private interview with the Ameers. Mir Mooradali's illness was the main topic discussed on this occasion. The Ameer had been ailing for the last five months and all Sindhian Medical men had been consulted till now. The Ameer had himself despaired of recovery and had written down his will. The Doctor examined his patient and prescribed medicine. And lo! within ten days all the dangerous symptoms of the disease had disappeared. This was mainly effected through the benign effects of the sulphate of quinine[15]. From this sudden recovery of Muradali, Burnes secured a confidence of the Ameers which no Englishman could ever secure at their Court. Many more of royal blood sought his advice for their own ailments apart from the hundreds of common men he cured. But he did not succeed in all cases. Meer Noor Mahomed, son of Meer Muradali, was disappointed, for writes Burnes, "I did not possess the lamp of

Alladin or the wand of Prosprero to transform his mean and contemptible figure into the stately form of his brother Nasirkhan[16]." Though Muradali was out of danger in so short a time he did not regain his health perfectly till January 1828. And so Doctor Burnes had to be at the Sind Court for nearly three months. During this period he utilised his time in studying the rulers of the land, without prejudice. He studied their temperaments, and abilities, their tastes and aptitudes, their character in general and above all their attitude towards the British. He also paid attention to the organisation of the Sind Court and the administration of the country; the wealth of the rulers and the lot of the common man. He was afforded the best opportunity to study Sind since he enjoyed the utmost confidence of its chiefs. Hence his account of the country, its people and the men at the helm of affairs is as sympathetic as it is correct. It is indeed a highly commendable performance. All other foreign writers were greatly prejudiced as they could only gain a partial view of the actual state of affairs due to their limited opportunities for studying their subject. When for example Doctor Burnes explains the main defect of Talpur administration as underlying in their ignorance of the true notions of policy and their being mislaid by the delusions of prejudice than by their being wantonly cruel and inequitous in their proceedings, he shows an insight into the affairs of Sind at this period of its history which makes it evident that all other writers were drawing conclusions from the things as they stood on the surface and could not probe sufficiently deep into the matter to know the exact state of affairs as Doctor Burnes could do[17]. At long last after much reluctance the Ameers gave Doctor Burnes his audience of leave on 21st January 1828 and he flowed down the Indus in a State barge flooded with many worthy presents. The Doctor proceeded by land from Tatta and reached the Kutch Territory on 28th January[18]. By the visit of Doctor Burnes to the Court of Sind the British were not only afforded a pleasant and realistic account of Sind but at the same time they won that confidence of the rulers of the land which was of the utmost importance to them in their exploits in the land of the Indus undertaken during the following few years.

This favourable account of Sind was preceded by a favourable opinion of the Indus as a channel of Commerce. The Commercial advantages had been brought out prominently by the famous traveller Moorcraft[19] and they had sounded so well that the Government of India were induced to ascertain for themselves the

commercial value of the classic stream. But it was not mere trade that lured the English to estimate its usefulness. It was something more. The British Empire in India was threatened from the north-west as has been noticed earlier. An English army could easily go up the Indus and check the on-coming enemy only if the Indus were really navigable. The Sikh Ruler had been casting a covetous eye on the lower valley of the Indus. The English adminsitrators in India felt that at some time it would be necessary to oppose the foe at the North-West frontier of India. And in case Sind became a part of the Sikh territory, British troops would never be allowed to proceed north by the Indus. The Sikh Chief was bound to actively oppose the advance of a British army through his territory. So if now the capabilities of the Indus could be ascertained, the Sindhian territory could be annexed and all would be well. So the ball was set rolling. Moorcraft suggested commerce and Malcolm, the Governor of Bombay, though of defence. The suggestion of Moorcraft could easily answer Malcolm's desire as well. At Malcolm's suggestion the "Memoranda on the North-West frontier of British India and on the importance of the river Indus as connected with its defence" were drawn up. These Memoranda clearly hinted at the annexation of Sind[20]. And it was favourably considered both at home and in India. The Home Government were highly enamoured of the scheme. But Charles Metcalfe, a member of the Governor-General's Council deprecated the steps to be taken rather vehemently. He wrote, "It is stated in a late despatch from the Secret Committee that we must not permit the rulers to obstruct our measures, in other words, that we are to go to war with them to compell submission to our wishes. With deference I should remark that such an assumption does not seem to be warranted by the law of nations. But the assumption is an amplification of what I have often observed in our conduct towards the Native States, and what appears to me the greatest blot in our character of our Indian policy. However much we may profess moderation and non-interference when we have no particular interests of our own concerned, the moment we discover an object of pursuit we become impatient and over-bearing, insist on what we require and cannot brook denial or hesitation. We disregard the rights of others and think only of our own convenience. Submission or war is the alternative which the other party has to choose. Thus at the present time we have taken alarm at the supposed designs of Russia. It would seem we are to compell the intermediate states to enter into our views or submit to our projects, although they cannot comprehend them and instead of entertaining

any apprehension of Russian designs, are more apprehensive of our own, our character for encroachment being worse than that of the Russians, because the States concerned have a more proximate sense of it from the realms of India[21]." Metcalfe honestly felt that the Russian aggression was yet remote and vague and therefore urged a policy of wait and watch for, 'there is nothing that we can do in our present blind state that would be of any certain benefit on the approach of that event[22].' He suggested the cultivation of a friendly disposition with the intermediary States rather than antagonising them. The suggestion of Malcolm, inspite of the opposition of Metcalfe, particularly impressed Lord William Bentinck the Governor General. "The obvious advantages which Great Britain would derive from an extension of her commercial relations in the hitherto almost unknown regions in the vicinity of the Indus; and also the opening which it offered of cultivating friendly feelings with the different nations in this quarter, and which might hereafter be of importance to our interests, could not escape the observation of the eminent individual at the head of the Supreme-Government[23]." He wanted to initiate a progressive policy of saving the British Empire in India even if it involved armed interference. For this purpose 'a survey of the Indus and a knowledge of the countries contiguous to that noble stream were vitally important; indeed more important than any other acquisition[23a].' So the Indus was to be surveyed. But under what pretext? Such a pretext was ready at hand. His Gracious Majesty, the King of Great Britain was greatly pleased with the friendly overtures of the Punjab Ruler who had sent a Shawl-tent as a present to His Majesty in 1828 through Lord Amherst[24]. And he wanted to present the Sikh Ruler with one Stallion and four mares of the Suffolk cart horse breed in the erroneous belief that Ranjitsing was a great horse breeder[25]. The horses accordingly arrived at Bombay. Lt. Col. Henry Pottinger suggested that it might allay the fears of the Sind Government if a large carriage were sent along with the horses as the size and bulk of it would render it obvious that the Mission could then only proceed by water[26]. And Sir John Malcolm, the Governor of Bombay, came forward to further the cause of His Government by giving his highly ornamented carriage, which he had received as a present from Lord Minto in 1810, for the purpose[27]. Thus an ostensible reason was at hand to undertake the navigation of the Indus. Some demur was anticipated on the part of the Rulers of Sind to allow this passage through their territories but it was assumed that the Ameers situated as they were to Ranjitsing on the one hand and the British Government on the other would not readily

incur the risk of offending both powers. Alexander Burnes, brother of Doctor James Burnes, who was at the time at the Bhooj Residency was appointed to undertake the journey. Upto 1830 the knowledge which the Europeans possessed of the Indus was 'vague and unsatisfactory[28]'. And so Burnes was expected to acquire full and complete information regarding the Indus. A better colour to the forthcoming venture was given by deputing Burnes on a political Mission to the Sind Courts (those of Hyderabad and Khairpur) also, though a Mission to these courts was hardly called for[29]. Once again Metcalfe deferred from the proposed scheme for cogent reasons. He wrote out a spirited note of dissent and earnestly appealed to the Government to consider fully the consequences of the scheme before launching it. He wrote, "the scheme of surveying the Indus under the pretence of sending a present to Raja Ranjitsing seems to me highly objectionable. It is a trick.......... unworthy of our Government which cannot fail when detected, as most probably it will be, to excite the jealousy and indignation of the powers on whom we play it. It is just such a trick as we are often falsely suspected and accused of by the Native powers of India and this confirmation of their suspicions generally unjust will do us more injury by furnishing the ground of merited reproach, than any advantage to be gained by the measure can compensate. It must be remembered that the survey of the Indus or any part of Sind country may give us the power to injure that state, may even assist in conquering it and in the course of the events is as likely to be turned to use for that purpose or any other. The rulers of Sind, therefore, have the same right to be jealous of our surveys of their river and their territoreis that any power of Europe has to protect its fortresses from the inspection of foreign Engineers[30]." This was however disregarded. All preliminaries were over and the British envoy received his final instructions and left Mandvi on the 21st of January, 1831, along with his little party comprising Ensign J.D. Leckie of the 22nd N.I., a Surveyor, a Native Doctor and a suitable establishment of servants[31]. Burnes and his party reached the Koree or the eastern-most mouth of the Indus on the 24th and surveyed the Sind coast for the next four days without being detected[32]. On the 28th instant the party cast anchor in the Pittee or Western mouth of the river. No intimation had been sent by the British authorities to the Ameers of Sind lest they should reasonably and flatly refuse permission for the advance of the Mission, as it was violating the treaties which affirmed that no whiteman would be allowed to pass through their territories. But, if the 'eternal friends' envoy had arrived within the

Ameers' dominions they would have to deal with the matter differently. Therefore Burnes apprised the Ameers' Officers at the Indus Delta Port at Daraje of his plans when he had anchored some thirty miles up from the sea[33]. Here the impediments to the advance of the Mission began. The situation was hard to bear as the Ameers' Officers would not allow the Mission to move forward an inch without their receiving express orders to that effect from their masters. So Burnes was compelled to get back to sea and inform Pottinger of his fate. But soon he received a friendly letter from the Ameers who as usual could not oppose the entry of a guest however unwelcome but made the guest conscious of the impracticability of his plans. They enumerated the impossibilities of navigating the great river. They said, "the boats are so small that only four or five men can embark in one of them; their progress is likewise slow, they have neither masts nor sails; and the depth of water in the Indus is likewise so variable as not to reach in some places the knee or waist of a man[34]." This formidable enumeration of the physical obstacles was coupled with no refusal from the Rulers in allowing Burnes to undertake the journey. So Burnes made a second bid for the Indus on the 10th of February, but due to some natural causes he was detained from entering the Indus for about five days. He now entered the Pitcanee mouth and addressed the Ameers' agent at Daraje putting him in the wrong for treating them in an un-civil manner but that officer no more enjoyed his office and the new man knowing his doom if he encouraged the English to enter the Indus refused the party not only landing but food and water as well[35]. Once again the Mission moved back to Mandvi Road. It was evident that the Ameers' conduct was unfriendly from the British point of view and yet they did not betray the feelings in their letters. The Ameers had merely magnified the difficulties of navigating the Indus and arrayed its rocks, quick-sands, whirl-pools and shallows and wounded by the fact that the voyage to Lahore had never been performed in the memory of man[36]. The Ameers were alarmed.They felt that this Mission was the precursor of an army and therefore no permission could be granted to the English to enter their dominions. The foreigners had known everything else about Sind excepting the Indus and its navigability and that they had never used the Ameers' territories for the passage of their army was due to their lack of knowledge about the river. . Once the Feringee had known the Indus Sind would be a country lost to the Ameers. Col. Pottinger having received news from Burnes had remonstrated with the Ameers for refusing 'so moderate a request'[37] and had apprised

the Sikh Ruler through the British Agent of the despatch of the dray horses for his capital by the Indus. The delay caused had created doubts in the mind of the Maharaja and he asked the British Agent the cause thereof who at once narrated in the usual high flown language the impertinence of the Ameers of Sind in refusing a passage to the Mission[38]. Ranjitsing was roused. He interrogated the Ameers' Agents, who apprised him of the purpose behind this pretext of conveying his presents. They pointed out that the carriage which was supposed to be bringing the horses for him was really full of gold muhars for his enemy. Sayed Ahmed and the Ameers were collecting a lac of men to oppose the advance of this mischievous Mission[39]. But the Maharaja felt that the Ameers were insulting him by refusing a passage for his presents and at the same time their conduct was likely to injure British feelings who might launch an offensive against Sind and annex the territory which he so much coveted. He, therefore, ordered his French Commander Ventura to make a demonstration from the Frontier of Dera Gazi Khan against the Ameers[40]. By that time the Ameers had been conciliating with the British Resident in Kutch and assured him that the passage could not be allowed as it was in violation of the existing treaties between them and the British, but if the British Resident gave an assurance that this passage would not be taken as a precedent Burnes may well pass. Pottinger gave the required understanding[41]. The Ameers certainly did not desire to antogonise the Sikh Ruler. so both powers were informed that Burnes was permitted to go up the Indus to deliver the presents from the Royalty of Great Britain to Maharaja Ranjitsing of the Punjab. On 10th March Burnes and his party once again set sail for the Indus and now ascended the Hujamree, one of the central mouths of the Indus and after some higgle haggle the Ameers' orders were put into force a full and unqualified sanction to advance by water. The party proceeded to the capital, Hyderabad, on 12th April[42]. "Our fleet consisted of six flat bottomed vessels and a small English built pinnace which we had brought from Kutch[43]." As the little fleet went up the stream it was heartily cheered by the people. At one spot a Sayad gazing astonishingly at the new comers shrewdly remarked, "alas! Sind is now gone since the English have seen the river which is the road to its conquest[44]." The utterance was indeed prophetic. Within barely a dozen years the British flag was seen flying in the once Ameers' dominion. The fleet moored opposite Hyderabad on 18th April. On the way the members of the Mission saw the fishing of the Palla, the palatable dish of the Sindhis. The Mission was very cordially

received at the capital and the son of the Chief Minister, in his father's absence, was appointed the mahmandar to the Mission. The Mission visited the Court and found that it had faded from its old grandeur. Meer Nasir Khan the second son of Meer Muradali, the reigning chief, assured Burnes that he was a loyal friend of the English and it was he who finally got sanction for his Mission to proceed by the Indus. Meer Muradali the Chief Ameer spoke in eulogising terms and welcomed the envoy[45]. The interview was followed by the British envoy sending some presents to the Ameers sent by his Government consisting of a gun, a brace of pistols, a gold watch, two telescopes a clock, English shawls and cloths, two pairs of elegant cut-glass candles and shades, some Persian works of Bombay Litho and maps of the World and India[46]. The Ameer on receiving the presents sent the moderate request that the clock and candle sticks may well be exchanged for something else, but it was rudely turned down. A second interview wounded up the Mission's stay at Hyderabad. On his departure the British envoy was the recepient of a handsome Damascus sword with a red velvet scabbard ornamented with gold from Meer Nasir Khan, the Chief Ameer sending a purse containing Rs. 1,500, since he had no mounted blade to present the envoy with[47]. On 23rd April the State barge carried the party due north. The Mission reached Sehwan on 1st May and stayed there for 3 days. A day after quiting Sehwan the party met the agent of the Ameers of Khairpur, Mahomed Gohur, who came to compliment the Mission on its safe arrival. Meer Rustom's Days of feasting followed. Burnes wrote a complimentary letter to the Ameer for his fine reception of the Mission. The Mission reached Bukkur within ten days and went to pay a visit to the ruler of Khairpur. The Chief Vazir, Fateh Khan Ghoree, came to receive them and conducted them to the Court[48]. The envoy presented the Ameer with a watch, a brace of pistols, and a kaleidoscope along with various articles of European manufacture. The Ameer was highly delighted to receive these tokens of friendship. There was so much mildness in what the Ameer said that I could not believe we were in a Baluchee Court, wrote Burnes[49]. The Ameer requested the Mission to tarry longer in his dominion and accept his 'poor hospitality' so long as they stayed. This hospitality consisted of eight to ten sheep with all sorts of provisions for 150 people daily[50]. While the Mission was at Khairpur the Ameer sent twice a day a meal of seventy-two dishes consisting of Pillaos and other viands of the richest cookery. The Mission had to regret to be leaving the Khairpur Darbar. On the Mission's departure Burnes received from the Ameer two daggers and two

beautiful swords with gold ornamented belts, many cloths and Sind silks and a purse containing a thousand rupees[51]. By this time the Mission had had a good experience of Sind beggers. The British envoy complains of them in the following terms, "The beggars of Sinde are the most importunate and troublesome. They practice all manner of pursuasion to succeed in their suit for alms; tear up grass and bushes with their mouths and chew sand and mud to excite compassion[52]." Before reaching Bukkur the Mission had met the chief Vazier of the Hyderabad Court, Nawab Wullee Muhammad Khan Lagharee, who had hastened his departure from Shikarpoor to meet the Mission. He assured the envoy that his master had had evil counsel and so had unnecessarily detained them at the mouths of the river and on hearing this news he had urgently solicited the Ameer not to commit themselves to such a rude conduct. The English envoy was greatly impressed by the noble bearing of the Vazier and the grandeur of his retinue. 'He came with a splended equipage of tents and carpets accompanied by three palanquins and 400 men. A set of dancing girls were also in his suite[53].' On 21st May the Mission left Bukkur and arrived at Lahore on 17th July 1831[54]. Inspite of his cordial reception at the Sind Courts Burnes has little to commend the Ameers about. He felt that the Talpurs were tyrannous rulers and were very unpopular with the people. And as he points out 'he heard the people say that they (the English) were the fore-runners of conquest!' In due course Burnes made out his report and expressed a favourable opinion regarding the navigation of the Indus.

Now it remained for the Government of India to take suitable steps in the matter. Though the Malcolm Memoranda had recommended the annexation of Sind, the political situation in the country made the step suicidal at the moment. It was deemed expedient for the time being that the Indus be opened for the purpose of commerce and through that commerce to the north-west, specially to the Kabul dominion, the British must substitute their influence for that derived by Russia. Such indeed was the desire of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company in London[55]. An immediate annexation was not only to draw the British into the politics of Central Asia, which they wanted to avoid as long as was expedient, but it would also annoy their old ally Ranjitsing, who was so keen to have Sind that after being free from the imbroglio of Sayed Ahmed, he had been concentrating his attention on the conquest of Sind and had gone to the length of

inviting the English to join in the expedition against the Ameers, over which proposal the English for their own interests wisely slept[56]. The British felt that if they could secure the necessary influence in the north-west through commerce and on the same score obtain free navigation of the Indus, their purpose would be served without a single life being lost. What they really wanted was a passage for troops to the north-west which they would secure through commercial navigation. If ships of commerce can ply on the Indus regularly, it would not be difficult for the English to sail ships of war on the same stream in an emergency, with the power they enjoyed in India. The Ameers of Sind would easily be over-awed by the hallow of British might. Such indeed were the views of Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General of India. And accordingly Missions were to be despatched to the Courts of Lahore, Bahawalpore, Khairpoor and Hyderabad to sue their rulers for 'natural justice.' Opposition was anticipated only from the Lahore and Hyderabad Courts, the rest being subordinate Courts. But it was believed that the Lahore court could be managed and hence there remained the Court of Hyderabad whose policy it had been to enjoy a secure existence by the exclusion of all foreigners from its dominions. Apart from the above policy it had been brought to the notice of the British Indian Government that the Ameer of Hyderabad was seeking a marriage alliance with Persia and this it was feared, might develop into a political one to the detriment of British interests. The Governor General writing to Col. Pottinger, the prospective envoy to Sind, brought to his notice the fact that this matrimonial alliance might have been suggested by Russia with a view to a future political alliance and to the establishment of an immediate relationship through Persia with an Indian State by means of which, whether for intrigue or for actual attack, a ready access would be afforded to our Indian Empire[57]. Even the British envoy at Tehran advised the Governor-General to avert the alliance between Sind and Persia as by such an attempt the Sind ruler could solicit Persian protection against any measure that the coming events however unforeseen may compell the English to adopt against Sind[58]. So the Governor-General of India had to send an experienced envoy to Sind to fulfill 'an altruistic Mission,' to open the Indus for commercial purposes. The British had for once realised that a petty kingdom had no right whatever to shut up commerce by imposition of heavy duties or by an other impediments simply because the passage of the channel of commerce lay through the territories of that insignificant autocracy. And so a search was ordered to select an envoy to Sind and who

could be better fitted for the task than the British Resident in Kutch, Col. Henry Pottinger who had much previous knowledge of the Sind Court. The choice was indeed wise. The Governor-General informed Col. Pottinger of his intentions and suggested an outline of the way he had to argue out his case at the Ameers' Court. In case the Ameers objected to the opening of the Indus for commercial purposes by charging a fixed and moderate toll under the superintendence of the British Indian Government, the British envoy was to question the rights of Sind in this respect by having recourse to the principles of International Law and practice and prove to the Ameers the falsity of their stand that they or any other State possessing only a portion of a stream had a right either by prohibition or what is tantamount to it, by the imposition of excessive duties or by connivance at a system of plunder by their subjects on the trader, to deprive all the other people and States of an advantage which nature had offered to all and to show to the Ameers of Sind that they could not rightly assert that they alone had the right to seal hermetically the mouths of the Indus, to arrogate the sole and exclusive dominion of its navigation and to deny the right of an innocent use and passage of this great natural channel of commercial intercourse[59]. At the same time the British envoy was also instructed to beguile the Baluchee Chiefs of Sind in agreement by the enumeration of the advantages they would derive by the new scheme[60]. In case these cajolings proved ineffective the British envoy was to make most and bring home to the Ameers of the right possessed by the powers whose dominions bordered on the Indus to use this channel of commerce, but 'nothing like menace' was to accompany the admirable exposition of natural rights[61]. And in case the Ameers asked for certain conditions under which they may agree to the British demand, like protection against their avowed enemies, they were to be told that 'when there exists a natural right and power to enforce it, both justice and reason reject all title to concession or compensation[62]." How modest indeed were the British demands! The English had conceived and taken on themselves by their own free will this humanitarian work of encouraging commerce in Asia. And nothing like menace was to be resorted to, though it was within British power and natural right to do so, against the parties involved, who were to come to a unanimous verdict in favour of the scheme. How grand a conception only if what was being proposed had no political motive behind it.

The preliminaries being over, on 10th December, 1831, Col. Henry Pottinger apprised the Ameers of Hyderabad of his intention to visit their Court with letters from the Governor-General for them[63]. In this letter Pottinger requested the Ameers for an officer of theirs to receive his Mission in the Sind territory. He also apprised the Ameers that 'as a part of the luggage which I have with me is of that heavy nature that renders its transportation by land extremely difficult,' they should authorize this part of the luggage to come by water *via* the Delta Port of Daraje. By the end of the month the Ameers had replied and welcomed the English friend to their Court. They appointed Muhammad Khan and Dost Ali Khan to meet the Mission on the Sind border[64]. The Mission was to consist of the following gentlemen:—

Lt.-Col. Henry Pottinger,	Envoy
P. Scott, Esquire,	1st Assistant
Capt. W. Pottinger,	2nd Assistant
Asstt. Surgeon I. A. Sinclair,	Surgeon
Lt. J. Morris	Commanding the Escort.

And E.P. Delhoste, Esq., Surveyor & Draftsman[65]. The Mission was provided with an escort by the 24th N.I[66]. The whole party made up a goodly number. 'We mustered upwards of 400 souls" writes DelHoste[67]. The envoy carried with him the following stationery[68] for the use of the Mission to Sind:—

Foolscape paper	Two Reams
Pott or King's Arm, in lieu of Foolscape	One Ream
Demy or 3rd sort	10 qrs
Thin post paper	10 qrs
Portuguese paper	3 Reams
Letter paper	2 Reams
Cartridge paper	5 qrs
Blotting paper	5 qrs
Quills	500
Pen-knives	2
Black Ink-powder	2 dozen bundles
Red ink powder	3
Wafers	4 Boxes
Sealing Wax	2 lbs
Pencils	6

The Mission was also furnished with medicines, instruments etc. worth Rs. 911-2-0[69]. So, fully saddled, the Sind Mission reached Lackpat Bundar on 10th January 1832[70]. DelHoste was specially appointed on the personnel of the Sind Mission for collecting geographical information regarding Sind[71]. The Mission crossed into Sind on the next day and in just ten stages arrived at the Ameers' capital on the 25th of the same month[72]. It is necessary to advert here to the ready welcome afforded to the British Mission by Meer Murad Ali Khan, who had been so suspicious about Englishmen entering his territory. The Ameer seemed to think that the purpose of the Mission was to settle the Parkur affairs[73]. Parkur plunderers had so much inconvenienced the subjects of Kutch, under British protection, that the Ameers had been warned several times and it seemed that now a final settlement was to be effected and a policy was to be chalked out for rooting out this menace. In fact the question of Parkur plunderers was of so minor an importance in the present instance that the Governor-General had left it to the discretion of Pottinger to move the matter or not, for the main object of Indus navigation was not to be jeopardized under any circumstances[74]. But soon after the welcome letter had been despatched, the Ameers were informed by a brother of Ismail Shah, a minister of the Hyderabad Court, then at Bombay on a private Mission, that the Mission's main object was to seek permission for the passage of troops to oppose Russians in the north-west of India as also for the establishment of three political agencies in Sind, at Tatta, Hyderabad and Shikarpoor respectively besides and English envoy at Khairpoor[75]. And hence the Ameer despatched Mirza Zenloobdeen, son of Ismail Shah, to know in advance the real object of the English. In the meantime some other Talpur Officers also met the Mission like Hyderkhan Laghari, the Governor of Jatee Pargana and nephew to the Chief Minister; Muhammad Khan Talpur, brother-in-law of the Chief Minister; and Akhund Baka-ul-Shah, all men of rank. The last named person sent word to the Ameer that the boats carrying the heavy luggage of the Mission were really laden with military stores[77]. On hearing this the Ameer grew thoughtful and forthwith despatched Keehee Khidmatgar to ascertain the truth[78]. It was on this account that the heavy luggage arrived five days later than he Mission at the capital, having been detained in the delta at Daraje for nine days. The Ameers' officers referred to above as also two confidential servants of Mir Muradali, Chotta Khidmatgar and Mirza Baki, Georgian, met the Mission on

the second stage of the march and very warmly welcomed the Mission on behalf of their master[79]. These officers proposed to pay Rs. 100 a day to Pottinger as mahmandari charges as ordered by the Ameer. Col. Pottinger felt that this was not fair and after much discussion with the Ameers' officers agreed to accept fire-wood and forage free[79a]. The Mehmandars also communicated to the British envoy the desire of Meer Murad Ali to allow him to follow the 'Balloch' system of hospitality by furnishing the Mission with ready dressed victuals on the arrival of the Mission at the capital. Pottinger found it inexpedient to refuse everything and therefore accepted this invitation. On the whole the reception of the Mission while it was still on its way to the capital was very hearty. Nothing could have been more attentive and friendly than Meer Murad Ali Khan's conduct to the Mission upto this hour, wrote Col. Pottinger to Government[80]. On their way the Mission passed through fertile lands growing rice, tobacco, barley and sugar-cane in great abundance[81]. Near Shahkapoor the Mission came across an extensive fort Said to have been the residence of Dodo, a Summa Chief. The ruins were of pacca brick of enormous dimensions[82]. At Bulrey the Mission visited the tomb of Shah Kareem, the great grand-father of Shah Abdul Latif, the Sindhian Shakespeare[83]. 'The tomb is a beautiful building covered with lacquered tiles of various colours, which at a short distance appear like porcelain. There is a large melah here in March every year which lasts for three days. Goods coming to the melah pay no duty[83a].' But all was not pleasant for the Mission on the road. The beggars of Sind greatly disturbed them. Delhoste complains of begging as a terrible nuisance in Sind. Capt. W. Pottinger corroborates what Delhoste asserts regarding Sind beggars when he points out.' 'Those who have no property or means of subsistance live by begging or rather demanding alms and there is nothing wonderful to see well-dressed and respectable looking men, sometimes on horse back, with swords and shields asking for charity and if denied, they give vent to the most violent and abusive language[84].

The Mission duly arrived at the capital and encamped at a special camping ground situated nearly S. W. of the City. The British camp was marked out facing south, thus having the City and Fort on its left, the Indus on the right at a distance of 2.5 miles, at its rear the Nalla having wells to supply water, beyond which on a rising ground stood the Tanda of Wulee Muhammad Khan Lagharee[85]. The situation of the English camp was not very pleasant but it had

the advantage of being free from the annoyance of beggars[86]. The camp was provided with a Sindhian guard to keep off the civilian population who would otherwise disturb the peace and quiet of the place. However out of curiosity many Sindhis came to visit the camp[87]. The large Durbar tent in particular was an object which appeared to strike the visitors as being wonderful— the chicks at the tent doors also appeared to amuse them very much and they were often heard having disputes among them as to what they were composed of[87a].

So now the Mission was ready to start on its errand in right earnest. The first visit to the Ameer's Court by the Mission was fixed for the morning of the 28th January[88] by which time the British Camp had been visited by the proteges of every Chief enquiring after the welfare of the members of the Mission and bringing presents of fruits. A little after sunrise on the morning of the 28th, a deputation consisting of Ahmed Khan Laghari the eldest son of the Prime Minister; Muhammad Khan Nizamani; Dostali Khan Talpur; Muhammad Khan Talpur and others conducted the members of the Mission to the Durbar. The Durbar had nothing in particular to commend itself except noise, if noise could ever be commendable. Nothing could be less decorous or worse arranged than the whole scene; one could hardly find room to sit as the people came squeezing into the Darbar, shouting, howling, and calling to each other all the time[89]. All the old grandeur seemed to have passed off except for the personal decoration and decorum of the Ameers themselves. Captain W. Pottinger gives a realistic and animating account of the reception of the Mission at the Ameers Court. He writes, "The reception of the Mission was most distinguished, but the Court and the style of everything connected with it gave us much disappointment. The dresses of the Ameers were alone handsome and the jewels costly. The Beloch system of hospitality was followed towards us and for some days (until the envoy peremptorily declined to receive any further contributions) supplies of every sort and in the greatest abundance were served out daily to all the followers and also the cattle__ and a ready cooked dinner of 150 dishes sent daily for the gentlemen accompanied with Cabool fruits, sherbet, sweets, etc[90]. After polite enquiries of welfare the visit terminated within twenty minutes and the Englishmen returned to their Camp.

After the first interview, the interviews with the Ameers became frequent as the purpose of the Mission became known to the

Ameers through the envoy. Meer Moorad Ali Khan when he was made aware of the contents of the letter from the Governor-General objected to Englishmen entering his dominions as merchants because the Belochees knew them as soldiers and under no circumstances would they be able to discern their commercial purpose[91]. This was an objection to which the Ameers' Officers clung for long as they felt that it constituted a dangerous step by them. Captain W. Pottinger explains the point thus:— "To be in the most remote degree engaged in trade is looked upon by the Belochees of Sinde as the most complete degradation and when the envoy on the discussion of the Treaty mentioned that British merchants were often amongst the most respectable people of their country, the Chiefs who were present seemed quite astonished and hardly gave credit to the fact[91a]." At the same time they pointed out that the entry of Englishmen in Sind was a violation of the understanding recorded on paper and given by Pottinger himself, that the British Government would not again trouble that of Sind with a similar request, as the one made for the passage of Sir Alexander Burnes by the Indus in 1831[92]. This the British envoy easily combated by saying that the Indus navigation as proposed now was quite different from the deputation of Burnes and at the same time pointed out that he had informed Zenaloobdeen, the receiver of the note, that the stipulations contained in the note were not binding on the British Government as he had no authority to give such an understanding, but hoped that his Government would accept the conditions agreed to by him[93]. This argumentation needs comment. If Col. Henry Pottinger had no final authority of his Government to settle the passage for Burnes by the Indus, he had no business to entertain the Ameer's Officer deputed for the purpose. He should rightly have sent him to the proper authority. Zenaloobdeen would never have accepted the terms from Pottinger had he the slightest doubt that Pottinger's proposals would be rejected by his Government. He acted on good faith and yet his good faith was paid back by the enumeration of a technical flaw in the document given to him. Indeed the ways of political friendship are varied and variable.

After a few days of preliminary exchange of views on the subject, Moonshee Khooshiram on behalf of the Ameers' Government proposed a treaty of nine articles[94]. The first two articles referred to mutual and eternal friendship, the third debarred all Europeans from entering Sind, the fourth provided for the entry

of non-European merchants by the Indus. The fifth article referred to Shikarpoor. It was stipulated that on no account would Shikarpoor be seized by the British. The sixth one made the friends and enemies of the one as those of the other, the seventh stipulated that the Ameers would provide a large force on British requisition within 100 miles of Hyderabad, the eighth article referred to fixing and regularising payment of river dues, and the last one contemplated compensation to the Ameers for the above benefits. The British Government was expected to compel those of Kabul and Punjab to treat Sind as an independent power like the British and cast no covetous eyes on it. Col. Pottinger having heard the Ameers' proposals read to him refused to accept the terms[95]. He felt that many articles of the proposed treaty were uncalled for. But in order to expedite the Mission's work he himself sent a draft treaty to the Ameers on 2nd February consisting of four articles[96]. The first referred to friendship, the second stipulated that the navigation of the Indus be made free and as the Ameers had many doubts against Englishmen, it was provided that no Englishman was to settle in Sind and no armed vessel was to enter the river without the previous sanction of the Ameers. The third article referred to the fixing of the river toll and the last one referred to the other articles of the previous treaties in a modified form. The Ameers conveyed their objections to Pottinger's proposals through their minister Sayed Ismail Shah[97] who pointed out to the English envoy that the Ameers under no circumstances were prepared to allow Englishmen to visit their dominions freely and frequently even on commercial errands. The Ameers, it was pointed out may allow a few Englishmen in their dominions but they must return as soon as their goods were sold and they would be allowed entrance only once a month. After Sayed Ismail Shah had argued on behalf of his masters, Col. Pottinger presented the point of view of his Government. He pointed out to the Ameers' Minister that it looked rather strange that a treaty of friendship was to debar one of the parties from entering the dominions of the other. After some hesitation the Ameers instead of accepting Pottinger's draft submitted another draft for his consideration[98]. In this draft great stress was laid against the leizure of Shikarpoor by the English. This was ridiculed by Pottinger for being included in a treaty of friendship. The new draft made no mention of Military stores coming up the Indus. Pottinger felt that a clause referring to it should be included and it was to be stipulated that it depended upon the Ameers to grant permission for the same or not. This is indeed a clever ruse to commit the Ameers on paper,

for once the English thought of bringing troops they would do so and in case of refusal of permission a forcible entry could be made when once such a permission was allowable by the treaty. The draft fixed a period for the residence of English merchants in Sind which was easily combated by the British envoy with the argument that none could tell when one's goods would be sold out and a stipulation fixing the period of stay of English merchants would act so adversely against them that it would deter them from coming to Sind. However Pottinger assured the Ameers that he was sending their draft to the Governor-General for his sanction and hoped that the final terms of the treaty would be based on their stipulations as far as possible. The officers connected with the negotiations on the part of the Ameers of Hyderabad were Moonshee Khooshiram, Sayed Zulfikar Shah, Sayed Ismail Shah, Ahmed Khan Laghari, Mirza Zenaloobdeen and others. While the Mission was at Hyderabad news was received on 16th February that Kharaksing had proceeded to join General Ventura to settle the affairs of Derajat, but in reality to attack Shikarpoor. The Ameers made hot preparations for opposing the enemy. But the news soon arrived of Kharaksing having retired to Multan. This greatly relieved the Ameers and set their mind at rest[99].

Col. Henry Pottinger had already on his arrival expressed his intention of going to the Khairpoor Durbar on the same errand as had brought him to Hyderabad, but it was strongly opposed by the Hyderabad Ameers[100]. The Ameers said that the Khairpoor Mirs were their subordinates and it was really not necessary to take the trouble of going thither. They even proposed that Pottinger may settle the Khairpoor treaty with Meer Mubarak, the brother of Meer Rustom, who was at Hyderabad on the occasion of the marriage of Shahdad Khan, son of Noor Muhammad and grandson of Meer Mooradali — a Hyderabad Ameer. But Pottinger preferred to go to Khairpoor, since he had heard of the friendly overtures of Meer Rustom to Burnes. The reason why the Hyderabad Chiefs did not like that the British Mission should proceed north was their fear of the English capturing Shikarpoor 'the apple of their eye[100a].' But soon their fears were allayed and Pottinger was allowed to proceed to Khairpoor[101]. Pottinger had sent Delhoste in advance to Khairpoor to get reply from the Ameer to his letters. The Ameer at once wrote back to Pottinger and Pottinger left Hyderabad on 21st February for Khairpoor where he arrived on 21st March[102]. He was very cordially received at the Court of Khairpoor where he found

more regularity and order than at Hyderabad[103]. The people here were very civil. Here the negotiations did not take long. Pottinger found that the Ameers of Hyderabad were correct in denominating this Court as their subordinate. He sent in his draft of four articles stipulating friendship, free navigation, equitable duties on the river and mutual visit of Vakils. After some little higgle haggle the draft was accepted. On the night previous to their departure the Mission was favoured with several sets of dancing girls. The Ameer also supplied the Mission with his dogs and huntsmen to provide some sport for the party before it started on its return voyage on 11th April. The Mission arrived at Hyderabad on 16th April[104]. The Officers connected with the negotiations at Khairpoor were Deewans Dulpatrai and Lakhmichand as also Fateh Muhammad Ghoree and Ghoharali. The Mission was not detained for long at Hyderabad and left the Sind Capital in State-barges on 20th April, reaching Moghurbee on 5th May. Then the Mission proceeded by land to Lakhpat where it arrived on the 11th instant[105].

The general tone of the negotiations at the Sind Courts had been conciliatory on the part of the Ameers. There was hardly any stiffness experienced by earlier British Missions to Sind. This was due to the peculiar position in which the Ameers stood. The British wanted only the commercial navigation of the Indus. The Ameers knew the proximity and power of the British in India. If they opposed the English demands they were threatened to be left to the tender mercy of Ranjitsing. But if they assented British authority was a sufficient guarantee against any invasion of their country. So the Ameers consented to the British plan of opening up the Indus for purposes of navigation simply because they were the weaker party and knew fully well the consequences of a refusal. But the Chiefs of Sind were shrewd enough to take advantage of the cartload of good they were doing to the British by asking for a little pittance. It is significant that almost all the princes of the ruling family vied with one another in establishing a good reputation in the British Camp. The reason was not far to seek. Meer Moorad Ali Khan was the last of the four brothers who initiated Talpur rule in Sind at Hyderabad. At his demise a fight for the *Masnad* was inevitable. Meer Mooradali had two grown-up sons each of whom sought the throne, Noor Muhammad by the right of being the eldest son and Nasir Muhammad by being the favourite of his father. Mir Sobdar the son of the eldest of the Charyars felt that the most legitimate opportunity for him to bid for the throne would be on the demise of

Meer Moorad Ali, he being the son of the eldest brother. Similar designs were uppermost in the mind of Meer Mir Muhammad: the son and surviver of the second brother of the Charyars. Meer Moorad Ali went to the extent of opening the topic of succession to the Hyderabad throne with the British envoy but the envoy was clever enough to evade any definite reply and switched on to another matter. It was clear even to the members of the British Mission[105] that if Meer Moorad Ali had been nice and good to them it was mainly because he wanted the British to intervene in the Sind succession on behalf of his choice Noor Muhammad . Even at Khairpoor a similar state of affairs was noticeable. There Meer Ali Moorad wanted to supercede his elder brothers. He made frantic efforts to alienate the English envoy against his brothers but met with ill-success. All his overtures met a cold and non-committal return from Col. Pottinger who found Ali Moorad quite a dangerous party to deal with. Hence the changed attitude of the Ameers and their acceptance of the British offer, thus recognising the virtual superiority of the British.

It would not be out of place to refer here to the presents sent by the Governor-General to the Ameers and the return presents given to the British envoy. As usual Col. Pottinger had brought some presents for the Ameers. And the Ameers also expected them. So much so that the Chief Ameer of Hyderabad, before the British envoy had not even thrown a hint regarding them, informed him that he should not make any presents to any of his children, nephews, relations or Sardars as they would only excite more jealousy and ill-will than at present existed among them[106]. Though his behaviour was out of etiquette, the Ameer was justified in his action by the fact that there really existed bitter jealousies among the princes. But that was not all. Merr Mooradali in anticipation of receiving presents informed the English envoy through his minister Ismail Shah that he had learnt that he was going to recieve some chandliers and a clock along with other presents and requested Pottinger not to send the articles enumerated above as 'the former were calculated to be for boys and men of sensual pleasures to hang upon in their apartments and the clock got soon out of order and cost more than its worth in sending it for repairs to Bombay[107].' This was indeed too childish a request and was hardly expected from a ruling Chief. Col. Pottinger sent to the Ameer a suitable reply to his request. He addressed Ismail Shah thus, "I am perfectly lost in amazement at this message, that whatever presents I had for Mooradali were not sent to him by

the Governor-General on account of their value but as tokens of His Lordship's regard, that it would have been only becoming in His Highness to have received them as they were meant, that he might have disposed of part or all of them amongst his children, relations or servants[108]." For Col. Pottinger himself wrote to Government to sell off some of the presents received by him from the Ameers as they would not serve any useful purpose[108a]. Col.Henry Pottinger was hardly pleased by the progress of the negotiations at Hyderabad but he could not detain sending the presents to the Ameers much longer as he did not wish the Ameers to imbibe the impression that he was keeping them back from doubts as to the success of his Mission. So Muradali received presents worth Rs. 7,100; consisting of mirrors, chandliers, and other glass-ware along with cloths of English manufacture and some guns and fowling pieces. The Ameer hardly liked the glass-ware and asked his minister Ismail Shah to get the glassware exchanged but the minister failed in his Mission. In a conversation with Col. Pottinger the Ameer referred to the fondness of the English in presenting articles of glass. To this Pottinger replied that the english rejoiced in making presents of articles of English manufacture and since Englishmen excelled in this manufacture, glass-ware stood prominent in their presents at all Indian Courts. But the Ameer had liked the guns and rifles sent to him and he showed his appreciation to Pottinger for them. The envoy also made presents to Meer Noor Mahomed, the eldest son of Meer Morradali, worth Rs. 550. To Nasir Khan, the second son of the same Ameer he sent a flannel piece worth Rs. 30. To Hyderkhan Laghari, the Governor of Jatee he gave presents valued at Rs. 192, while Nawab Muhammadkhan Laghari the Chief Mahmandar of the Mission received presents amounting to Rs. 165. Thus the Mission bestowed Rs. 8,037 worth of presents on the Hyderabad Court[109]. The Khairpoor Court was not left behind by the British envoy. Meer Rustom Khan received from the envoy presents valued at Rs. 7,670, consisting of Clocks, Watches, Guns, Pistols, Chandliers, Mirrors etc. The Ameer was extremely pleased with this courtesy. Meer Mubarak, his brother, also received presents worth Rs. 777, whereas the Chief Minister of Khairpoor, Fateh Muhammad Ghoree, got presents of the value of Rs. 300. Thus the Khairpoor Durbar received English presents worth Rs. 8,747[110]. The Khairpoor Ameer sent to the envoy a horse and a camel with gold and silver trappings, match locks and swords, Kashmeer shawls and cloths of Sind, 'as some trifling green leaves of friendship to add to the verdure of the garden of amity between the

Governor-General and himself[111].' And the Hyderabad Ameers also did not lag behind in this respect. From the Hyderabad Court the Mission received 9 horses, one riding camel, two couples of Sind dogs, one very valuable sword with bejewelled belt and the best blade, — originally received by Meer Mooradali Khan from the Shah of Persia as a present— two other swords, one battle axe, four pairs of shawls, 12 pieces of silk, cloths of Punjab and Sind, some Sind loongees, four richly mounted match-locks, two saddles and two bridles mounted with gold, silver and turquoises[112].

Up to this time the knowledge of the English about the Ameers of Sind was so limited that they were considered semi-barbarian. But on this occasion most of the members of the Mission had enough opportunities to see how shrewd the ruling Chief of Hyderabad was. The British envoy himself must have been impressed by the Ameer's ready wit when on one occasion the Ameer asked him what was the purpose of the British opening communications with all the neighbouring States. In answer the envoy replied that the British undertook these missions for mutual benefit and friendship. To this the Ameer returned a quick rejoinder that the English had taken the whole of India by mere negotiation[113]. Delhoste and W. Pottinger also record their opinion of the Ameer. Capt. W. Pottinger while referring to Meer Moorad Ali remarks, "He is by far the most sensible and ablest man in Sinde[114].' to which Delhoste adds, "Meer Mooradali Khan is decidedly a shrewd and sensible man. As a proof of his quickness I may here mention that previous to his signing the Treaty, he read it over twice, most carefully pondering on the sense of each phrase and word. At last he came to the word 'Resident' at which he stopped and begged to have the meaning of it explained to him fully. This was done after which he sealed the Treaty..... Anyone witnessing the scene would have at once decided that H. H. was a good man of business[115]."

Thus at long last by the treaty dated 19th June, 1832 and 4th April, 1832, with supplementary articles between the East India Company and the Ameers of Sind as also by similar treaties with Bahawalpore and Lahore Governments the Indus was opened for commercial navigation at fixed and reasonable river toll collected under the superintendence of British agents— a Native agent at the mouths of the Indus and an Englishman stationed at Mithankote. The toll was fixed at Rs. 570 per boat whatever the nature and

weight of the cargo, of which Rs. 240 were to be given to the Sind Ameers, Rs. 160 to Hyderabad and Rs. 80 to Khairpore and the rest was to be divided poportionately among the other parties. Navigation passports were provided without which no boat could either enter or leave the Indus. And since there was a likelihood of further intercourse with Sind, Col. Henry Pottinger was appointed Agent on the part of the Governor-General for the affairs of Sind in addition to his duties as Resident in Kutch. So now the Indus was opened to commerce and both commerce and politics came to thrive by it to the great detriment of the Ameers of Sind.

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The Mirs and the Indus Tolls

By H. T. Lambrick, I.C.S.

Read before the Sindh Historical Society on 22-10-1942

The levy of tolls by the Mirs of Hyderabad on boats plying on the Indus, in alleged contravention of the treaty of 1839, though not one of the main grounds on which Lord Ellenborough sought to impose a further and penal treaty on them, was one of the complaints preferred against them by Sir Charles Napier when he visited Hyderabad in September 1842: and being connected with the policy of stimulating trade on the River which, inherited from Bentinck, was the underplot of Lord Auckland's Afghanistan venture, may be considered as directly linking the exclamation of the Syed who witnessed Burnes' survey in 1831—

"Alas, Sindh is now gone, for the English have seen the river" — with the Governor-General's notification of March 5th, 1843. "Thus has victory placed at the disposal of the British Government the country on both banks of the Indus, from Sukkur to the sea...... it will be the first object of the Governor-General to use the power victory has placed in his hands in the manner most conducive to the freedom of trade, and to the prosperity of the people of Scind, so long misgoverned."

The state of affairs on the River, as Napier found it, had prevailed ever since the treaty of 1839 was signed: the Mirs interpreting its XIth clause in one sense, and the British Political authorities in another. The following correspondence extracted from the records of the Commissioner-in-Sindh, describes the first open clash between the two, and deserves record also as illustrating the characters of those who held the stage in the last troublous years of the Talpurs' rule.

From Captain J. Outram, Political Agent, Lower Scinde to T. Maddock, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India.

"Sir— The representation of Meer Sher Muhammad alluded to, in my diary of the 4th instant, regarding subjects of Scinde evading his dues, obliges me to solicit the instructions of the Rt. Hon. the Governor-General of India in Council, as to how far that Chief is to be restricted by the provisions of the new treaty with the four Ameers of Hyderabad, of 14 articles, to which he is not a party although, as a subject or member of the former General Government of Scinde, he was I presume bound by the former commercial treaties of 1832 and 1834; that chief's separation from and independence of the others being now virtually admitted by my predecessor having tendered a separate treaty to him, at the same as to the other Ameers. (2) The former treaties by which the Meerpoor chief considers himself bound relate only to foreign merchants, the British Government having requested "a passage for the merchants and traders of Hindustan by the rivers and roads of Scinde, by which they may transport their merchandize from one country to another," and Meer Sher Muhammad states, that he scrupulously abstains from interfering with foreign merchants, but that he never agreed to exempt Scinde merchants from what they had always been accustomed to pay, and which in fact is the principal source of his revenue. (3) Within the last few days Jethanand, my Native agent, has made known to me that the Ameers of Hyderabad also consider, that the same right they have always heretofore exercised, still continues to them, of levying duties from their own subjects transporting merchandise by the *Indus*. He says, that the Ameers have always understood, that the 11th and 12th Articles of the New treaty merely confirmed the former commercial treaty which applied to foreign merchants alone: for that they never understood the new treaty to interfere in any way with the transit duties they have always been accustomed to exact from their own subjects, and that besides, they read the 11th article as only applying to Merchants entering the river "from the Sea," or from beyond their own territory "from the northward."

(4) I might have been deceived by this, seeing that the same right over their subjects is exercised by the Khyrpoor and Bhawalpur Chiefs, and believing, that it could not have been the intention of the Right Honourable the Governor-General to enforce harsher terms on the Hyderabad Government— or at least, on Meer Sobdar, who suffers equally with the other Ameers by the measure in question, than what are *exacted* from the above mentioned states, similarly situated in their relations to the British Government, had I not found

that the late Resident took a very different view of the question and peremptorily directed through Lieut. Eastwick (by private letter of instructions dated 29th November last) that "no Custom duties or fines are to be levied on any goods, *no matter who the owners are;* going or coming by the Indus" which, that gentleman must have communicated through the Native Agent, he being then too unwell to visit the Durbar personally.

(5) On my questioning the Native Agent, as to the practice that prevails and what messages he had delivered to their Highnesses, relating to the exaction of duties from their own subjects, he informed me, that the Ameers have continued to levy them as heretofore, although *advised* by him that it would ultimately tend to their own advantage to abolish these altogether: this he told me, he had been instructed to do, but he purposely concealed from me that besides the orders from the late Resident, to Lieut. Eastwick above alluded to (which I assume to have been, of course, communicated to Jethanand) he had received *repeated* and *positive* orders from Colonel Pottinger *direct*, to prohibit the levy of *any duties* from *any person*, and on *any property* whatsoever, in boats plying up and down the river, which I have ascertained to be the case on examining the Native records, since led to suspect the integrity of the Native Agent.

(6) It is evident that the Native Agent endeavoured to deceive me, to benefit the Ameers, or he has deceived their Highnesses by omitting to deliver Colonel Pottinger's prohibition to levy duties from their own subjects, which they have continued to do uninterruptedly. The former is most probably the case, as more likely to secure advantage to himself, but in either case, it shows that he is no longer to be depended upon, and the probability that my predecessor's suspicions (which Colonel Pottinger communicated to me) that Jethanand has been tampered with, and gained over to Meer Noor Muhammad's interests, are well grounded. Under such circumstance I can no longer place confidence in this person, or employ him as a medium of intercourse with their Highnesses. I shall consider it my duty therefore to suspend Jethanand from his office of Native Agent, pending His Lordship's instructions, after having confronted him with the Ameers, which I shall have an oppertunity of doing on joining their Highnesses at a hunting party on the 15th instant.

(7) It is with much diffidence, but from an imperative sense of duty, that I now beg most respectfully and submissively to offer my opinion on the subject in question. It appears to me very possible that the Ameer may have understood the 11th and 12th Articles of the new treaty to be merely confirmatory of the *former* commercial treaties, and that they really never did contemplate that these articles had any reference to subjects of Scinde, especially as the 5th article provides for the "absolute" rule of the Ameers over their own subjects; otherwise I do not think it possible they would have omitted to protest against such an arrangement, which deprives them of their principal source of revenue, besides in a great measure undermining their authority over their own subjects, when they so pertinaciously persisted in objecting to other, and these— to them— far less important provisions of the new treaty: and as far as I can ascertain either from the Native Agent, or from Pitambar the Residency Moonshee, through whom, or in whose presence, all Colonel Pottinger's discussions were carried on, it does not appear that this question was ever mooted even, as if it was never suspected by the Hyderabad Government that such could be the intention of those clauses of the treaty.

(8) Were Commerce on the Indus likely to be much impeded or injured by the same unrestrained control of the Ameers of Hyderabad over their own subjects, which the other states on the Indus maintain, I should be loath to concede this point; but I believe that it would not prove detrimental in the slightest degree, and that on the contrary it would by throwing the whole commerce into the hands of foreign merchants be the means of encouraging the latter and enticing them into this channel, which is the great object to effect in the first instance, afterwards, the evil would correct itself, as the Scinde Government could not long remain blind to the loss of revenue, which must soon become apparent, from excluding its own people from participation in the benefits of the trade, which such exactions must effectually do.

(9) The chief objection, to the exercise by the Ameers of the power to taxing their own boats, appears to me, that, pointed out in the 7th para of my letter to your address dated 3rd March last (No. 74) — *i.e.*, the practice I understand to prevail, of taxing empty boats after discharging the cargoes of foreign merchants; but this, I find, could easily be guarded against, and pledges to abstain from the practice might be exacted from the Ameers, as the price of the

concession, which I beg most respectfully to recommend as just, and politic: Just, because it would place them on a footing with those of Upper Scinde and other States on the Indus similarly situated: and Politic, because the interference between the Ameers and their subjects, which I deprecate, must at all times be a source of heart-burning to them, especially as they see other and in their opinion inferior States in their immediate neighbourhood exempted from such interference; because it must appear to them an immediate and very serious pecuniary sacrifice for which *they* cannot be made to comprehend the possibility of any prospective compensation: because Meer Sobdar Khan, whom it is the object of the British Government to benefit by its protection, will consider himself injured on the contrary, and an equal sufferer with the rest; and because his ally, Sher Muhammad of Meerpoor, whom it is an object to conciliate, must be compelled to the same relinquishment of his dues from subjects of Scinde as the Ameers of Hyderabad have literally bound themselves to, should His Lordship the Governor-General so understand the spirit of the new Treaty, and direct its enforcement accordingly, much bickering, and frequent disturbances, more than counterbalancing any advantages that would accrue from granting the freedom of the river to the subjects of Scinde.

(10) In conclusion, and in support of these views, which I consider myself bound in duty to submit for the consideration of the Rt. Hon. the Governor-General of India in Council, I may be permitted to quote the words of the enlightened statesman Franklin:—

"To me, it seems, that neither the obtaining nor retaining of any trade, however valuable, is an object for which men may justly spill each other's blood, that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce is the goodness and cheapness of commodities, and that the profit of no trade can ever be equal to the expense of compelling it, and of holding it by fleets and armies." — I have, etc.,

J. Outram, P. A Lower Scinde

P. S. — I beg leave to hand up on this occasion, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council, copies of recent correspondence with the P.A., Cutch, displaying a system of illiberality towards commerce in what are here

considered British Ports, which cannot fail to be contrasted with the very liberal conceptions in favour of commerce required from themselves by the British Government."

J.O.

The case referred to by Outram was as follows:__

He had sent to the Political Agent, Cutch a petition received from the Gumashta of a merchant named Muhammad Rahim, requesting the restoration of property taken from him at Cutch Mandvi under peculiar circumstances.

Colonel Melvill, the Political Agent, replied on the 30th April 1840, that the boat in question, bound from Bombay to Shahbandar, had put into Mandvi under stress of weather, and remained there for three or four days. The supercargo took the papers to the Karbari of the Port expressing his desire to leave as soon as possible without landing any goods. The karbari however said that Port and other dues must first be paid, and the supercargo took the papers to the Karbari of the Port, expressing his desire to leave as soon as possible without landing any goods. The karbari however said that Port and other dues must first be paid, and the super-cargo was compelled to pay them, which he did in bags of sugar at a valuation by local mashirs.

By the laws of Cutch, every boat coming into a Cutch port because liable for Port *and Customs* duties on cargo, whencesoever coming, and wheresoever going. Bombay Merchants had petitioned Government in September 1839, and the Resident had been directed to inform the Rao that charging duties on vessels bound for Sindh, and entering his ports under stress or weather, "would be considered at variance with the usual liberality of His Highness"; but the Rao considering the injury to his revenues involved, declined to make any alteration in the ancient land of his country. Melvill therefore expressed his inability to interfere.

Outram to Maddock, Hyderabad 22nd May, 1840.

"Sir.__ I have now the honour to report for the information of the Rt. Hon. the Governor-General of India in Council, the substance of my conference with Meers Noor Muhammad and

Nusseer Khan, on board their Highnesses state barge on the 17th instant, alluded to in my diary of that date.

2. On my presenting His Lordship's letters to the Ameers transmitted with your dated 13th ultimo, I intimated my wish to converse with their Highnesses for a few minutes, if not inconvenient, to which they most readily assented, and requested me to retire with them to the rear cabin, that we might be more private, and allowing no person to accompany us except Meer Shadad. I desired, however, that the Native Agent Jethanand might be admitted, and he was called in accordingly. I commenced by informing their Highnesses, "that not withstanding their agreement by Treaty, to exact no duties whatever on boats and goods passing up and down the Indus, that I was well aware that they had continued to do so, as heretofore, ever since the treaty was signed." Meer Noor Muhammad, who acted as spokesman throughout was, or pretended to be, surprised at this accusation, declaring that he had scrupulously adhered to the terms of the treaty in permitting all foreign goods, belonging to foreign merchants, to pass free, whether entering the river from above or from below.

P. *A*— Yes! but the Treaty pledges you to exact no Tolls *whatever* from any one, passing up or down the River; but your officers do so to this day from all natives of Scinde carrying the products of Scinde.

Ameer— Certainly, it was never agreed that any alteration should take place regarding our own subjects__ on the contrary, the treaty stipulates that we shall exercise absolute control over our own people.

P. *A.* — Article XI of the treaty specifies that no toll will be levied on trading boats passing up or down the river, without any exemption being specified to natives of Scinde, which would have been, had such been intended.

Ameers— The present treaty merely confirms the former commercial treaties, the new treaty was not caused by these matters calling for any change, on the contrary, not one word was ever said by Colonel Pottinger regarding any alterations being required in the river arrangement, and we certainly never understood that there was to be any alteration— if so, we certainly should have complained

against what would deprive us of all our revenues, for if our own people also are allowed to carry goods up or down the river without payment, what will become of our land duties on camels and donkies carrying merchandise, for they will never be used in that case, and we should be great sufferers.

P. A. — The benefit will soon be seen, of opening the river to your own people as well as foreigners, otherwise they will be shut out from the benefit of the trade altogether, for they will be undersold by foreign merchants landing goods, and paying the customary tolls, which would still be much cheaper than what the Scindian merchants could afford to sell it, who is subject to land transit duties besides."

Ammer— That may be, but in the meantime how are we to live? We desire no advantage from foreign commerce, and if what we always got from our own subjects is taken away, how can we exist, for the taxes on Scinde boats, and produce is all our revenue.

P. *A.* — At first, there might be apparent loss, but ultimate benefit will be great, and is certain."

(4) This their Highnesses did not appear at all to believe, and turning to Jethanand, I asked him, "how he understood the treaty with regard to this point? He answered most readily, as applying only to foreign merchants, and property coming in from the sea, or down from above.

P. A. — "How was it in that case that Colonel Pottinger called upon you to recover, and you *did* so, the duties which had been levied on indigo by Sher Muhammad some time ago.

Native Agent— That was Multan indigo, and therefore foreign.

P. A— Have the Ameers continued always to levy duties from Scinde people as before?

Native Agent. — No Scinde cargoes of any value are brought down the river, they generally go by land.

P. A. — But if they can come free by the river, why should they go by land?

N. A.— They have not been allowed to come free.

P. A.— Who has hindered them?

N. A. — I supposed the Ameers.

P. A. — Did you ever report this to Co. Pottinger?

N. A. — There was no occasion.

P. A. — Are Scinde boats always taxed as heretofore?

N. A. — There has been no alteration regarding the Scinde people.

P. A. — Did you never convey any positive prohibition from Col. Pottinger to the Ameers against their taxing any boats whatever?

N. A. — I advised them that it would be ultimately for their benefit to make the river free to their own subjects.

(5) I then turned to their Highness and asked them, if they were not aware from Jethanand that Colonel Pottinger had positively prohibited their levying any duties on *any* boats passing up or down the river, no matter *who their owners are?*

Ameer— Most certainly not, had he told me so, I would have writeen to Col. Pottinger about it."

I then said to Jethanand: "How do you account for this? I find letters in the daftar, addressed by Col. Pottinger to you, through Petamber Moonshee, reiterating orders previously given to *you* personally, to the above effect, dated 26th April, and 27th September last year. Again, the Col. sent some such orders to Mr. Leckie, who must have communicated them to you, and, I see in a letter to Mr. Eastwick, dated 29th November, when that gentleman was at Hyderabad, the same positive prohibition, which he certainly must have mentioned to you. How is it, therefore, that in your daily intercourse with their Highnesses, you never made this known to them and how is it, that when I asked you on several occasions what

practice prevailed, that you suppressed your knowledge that it continued, in opposition to Col. Pottinger's orders to you to call on their Highnesses to *discontinue* it? and, that you endeavoured to lead me to suppose that such had never been intended? How is this?

Native Agent. — You say Col. Pottinger wrote the same to Mr. Eastwick; why did *he* not tell the Ameers?

P. A. — I believe that gentleman had no personal interview with their Highnesses, after that date, as he was obliged to go away sick shortly afterwards, and if he had occasion to communicate such a message, he must have done it through you: but Col. Pottinger's letter to Lieutenant Eastwick was merely an answer to a question from that gentleman, whom you may not have made acquainted with the prevailing practice, regarding which you ardently wished to blind me, — and who therefore may not have seen occasion to discuss the matter: but that does not alter *your* case, who had repeated and positive orders direct form Col. Pottinger on the above subject, as well as through Lieuts. Leckie and Eastwick— what your motive may have been for withholding these orders, and endeavouring to deceive me, is immaterial: Such is the fact."

Then turning to the Ameers, I said: "Your Highnesses, who are now aware of these circumstances, must see, that I can never hereafter place sufficient confidence in this man, to allow him to be the medium of communication between us, consequently I am compelled in justice to you, as well as in duty to my superiors, to suspend Jethanand from all employment, until the orders of the Rt. Hon. the Governor-General are received. In future, I shall always communicate whatever is of importance in person to Your Highnesses, and I request you will have no scruple to send for me, whenever you have doubts on any subject, or wish to consult me, it will give me pleasure to visit you at all times, and there can be no occasion to employ third person to pass between us, except in trifling matters— these sort of people too often thrive by making mischief, to render themselves of *consequence* and necessary: but I trust that Your Highnesses will always place your confidence in me freely, and without reserve declare your sentiments on all occasions, which I will make known to His Lordship if proper; if not, will candidly give you my opinion to the contrary. In this particular case I shall inform His Lordship all that has passed, but I will not conceal from you that the treaty most certainly, as it now stands, clearly exempts all boats from

tolls; that continuing to exact from your own people will throw them out of the market, and eventually prove injurious to your revenues, whereas they by throwing the river open to them, you will secure after advantages. The very letters which I have today delivered to you imply His Lordship's sense of the advantage of total exemption, but your Highnesses' ideas on the subject shall be fully communicated, under the impression, that you have been wilfully kept in ignorance by the Native Agent of the view of the British Government on the subject, which may excuse you now at this late hour referring the point for the consideration of the Rt. Hon. the Governor-General, although His Lordship will be surprised that the meaning of the article could ever have been doubtful."

(6) That Meer Nur Muhammad, if not the other Ameers, was fully aware of the real meaning of the treaty I have little doubt, but ascertaining from Jethanand that there was no chance of Col. Pottinger ever conceding the point in question, he had purposely abstained from pushing the matter to issue, aided by the Native Agent who, (I find in looking over his letters to Col. Pottinger) studiously avoided any mention of the prevalence of the practice or the sentiments of the Ameers on the subject, after one futile *attempt* to advocate non-interference with subjects of Scinde, in a letter not dated but received by Col. Pottinger on the 26th April last year, although that gentleman's reiterated orders on the subject ought to have elicited an explicit disclosure of the Ameers' object, had not Jethanand been bribed to their interests; as he could not possibly have been ignorant of it.

(7) Notwithstanding my conviction that the Ameers' assertion, that they never understood the treaty, is false, although such is possible— I am still nevertheless of the opinion which I formerly expressed, and respectfully beg leave here to repeat, that no good can arise from the *literal* application of the XIth article, as exempting *all* merchandise and property from tolls or the river, throughout Lower Scinde, that it is impolitic to bind these chiefs to different terms to what have been required from the other States similarly situated, (with) which treaties were made at the same time, that, no check to general commerce will be the effect of allowing these Ameers to tax their own subjects trading on the river, in the same manner as is allowed to the other chiefs above alluded to, but that by insisting on adhering to the strict wording of the article in question,

we should render utterly hopeless the task of reconciling this Government to its connection with the British Power.

(8) Should the Rt. Hon. the Governor-General of India be of opinion that this point should be conceded, I would respectfully suggest that it be granted only as a gracious boon, and on certain conditions calculated to prevent the exercise of the control of the Ameers over their own boats in any way interfering with foreign merchandise embarked thereon.

(9) In conclusion I beg to recommend that the office of Native Agent at Hyderabad be *abolished*, which I consider may be dispensed with advantage, being of opinion that no verbal intercourse with the Ameers should be carried on except by the P. A. or his Assistants personally, and that where this is not practicable, written "Yads" should be interchanged between the Agent, and their Highnesses' to prevent the possibility of misunderstandings and after denials."

I have etc., — J. Outram, P. A. Lower Scinde.

From H. Torrens, Secretary to the Government of India to J. Outram, P. A. Lower Sindh__ No. 382, Confidential Dept:

Fort William, 22nd June.

(Acknowledges letters of 11th and 22nd May *re*: Tolls, and Native Agents' affairs.)

"On the former question, it is necessary in the first instance to remark that the Ameers of Hyderabad are not as a matter of *right* to be considered as being, in respect to duties on the Indus, in any degree in the same position as the Ameers of Khyrpore or the Nawab of Bahawalpore, and it is of importance to explain the distinction which exists on the subject, as you illustrate your view of the fair pretensions of the Ameers by comparing them with the privileges said to be exercised by the other Rulers referred to: the Khyrpore Chiefs relinquished such duties within their dominions by a voluntary concession, and their intention in the relinquishment may be fairly to be judged from the manner in which the local British authorities have allowed practical effect to be given to the boon.

The Nawab of Buhawalpore retains his right to levy duties on the river within his limits, as it was declared by the treaties of 1833 and 1835, with the modifications to which, for the greater encouragement of trade, he may, it is confidently hoped, now agree.

But the Ameers of Hyderabad had, by their conduct, compelled the British Government to regard them as having forfeited its friendship, and one of the conditions on which they were admitted to reconciliation was that the navigation of the Indus in its course through their country, should be rendered prefectly free. Undoubtedly, the understanding of the British Government, in laying down that condition, was that no duty should be levied upon any goods or persons whatever, passing on the Indus. Such also was, as you state, the clear understanding and intention of Sir Henry Pottinger, who negotiated the new Treaty. And such, too, is the explicit declaration of the eleventh article of the treaty which is in these words— "No duty will be levied on trading boats passing up or down the river Indus, from the sea to the northern most point of that stream within the territories of the Ameers of Hyderabad."

(3) It might be apprehended that if the British Government were to concede to the Ameers the indulgence of taxing the products of lower Scinde, room would be afforded for the most vexatious impediments being interposed to the free transit of Foreign goods. For those goods could scarcely otherwise be loaded than on boats owned by subjects of the country, and if the privilege claimed be admitted, these boats will necessarily be liable to detention and search with a view to discover whether any portion of their cargo consists of country goods.

(4) On the whole, the Governor-General in Council is satisfied that such taxes as the Ameers may think it expedient to impose on the property of their own subjects should be levied as the Treaty permits, on shore, and before embarking their goods, or after their disembarkation— and it is especially requisite that the practice mentioned by you, of taxing empty boats after the discharge of foreign cargoes, which is a plain evasion of the most distinct and important agreement of the commercial part of the new treaty, should be wholly abandoned. You will also take every favourable opportunity for pointing out to the Ameers the mischievous consequences to their subjects and territories which must arise from

hampering the commercial transactions of their own people by imposts from which those of Foreigners are exempted.

(5) The practice, on the point under consideration, of the Khyrpore Government, is not material to the question which has been decided by the preceding instructions. But copies of the correspondence will be sent to the P. A. in Upper Scinde in order that an authentic report may be obtained of the nature and effects of that practice.

(6) With Meer Sher Muhammad, who is not expressly included as a party to the New Treaty of Hyderabad, the case may appear to be in some respects different, and His Lordship in Council would desire, in the first instance, to be informed of the exact limits within which this Chief exercises authority on both banks of the main course of the River, or any of its Branches, and whether any portion of the rights which he claims may be conceded to him, without the same general inconvenience to traffic which would be caused by such a concession to the other Ameers: yet his Lordship in Council is not inclined to admit the validity of claim even in his case.

The agreement with Sir Henry Pottinger, on which the treaty was founded, was made by those who had previously exercised the Collective Government of Lower Sinde. The condition of the Treaty is that no toll shall be levied from the sea upwards within the territories of the Ameers of Hyderabad, and it could ill be borne that a subordinate chief who at the date of the agreement, was, as you remark, regarded as a subject or member of the General Government of Sinde— should now stand upon his supposed independence, and separating himself from the Ameers, impede and impair the beneficial effects of this great public measure.

The subsequent tender to Meer Sher Muhammad of a separate treaty can scarcely be construed as affecting his position in regard to this general emancipation of the river from Toll— for it was only under the Treaty of March 1839, by which tolls were intended to be altogether abolished, that the separate independence of the Chiefs of Sinde was established. You will with these considerations before you bear in mind the very great importance which His Lordship in Council attaches to this navigation, and you will endeavour at once to maintain its freedom, and to reconcile the Chiefs of Scinde to

conditions which are required for the security of general commerce, and will be most conducive to their own real interests.

(7) The conduct of the Native Agent Jethanand, as described by you, appears open to much suspicion. But before finally sanctioning his dismissal as unworthy of confidence, the Governor-General in Council would think it right that you should require and submit from that person, a written reply to the specific allegations of neglects and violations of duty which you mention. His Lordship in Council agrees that the Office of Native Agent is not now necessary, a British Resident being permanently fixed at Hyderabad."

H. Torrens.

But it does not appear that any serious effort was made by the Government of India to induce the rulers of Bahawalpur and Khairpur to discontinue the levy of river tolls in their territories during the next two years and more.

Exactly a century ago, Sir Charles Napier, in the course of his historic review of the situation in Sindh, wrote to Lord Ellenborough:

"The second point to which Major Outram has drawn my attention is a very strong one. He tells me, the tribes on the river, above that part possessed by the Ameers of Scinde, do levy tolls, and that there is no treaty or public document forthcoming in virtue of which we can call on the Ameers even of Upper Scinde not to levy tolls on their own subjects. It is evident therefore that to call on the Ameers of Hyderabad to desist from levying tolls, and to allow the tribes above them on the river to do so, would be unjust; that is to say, it would be unjust to allow the others to levy tolls, but not unjust to prevent the Ameers from doing so. The answer to the argument 'that tolls are levied on the Northern Indus' is just this. Say to those Northern tribes 'We have, with great trouble, secured to your boats a free passage on the river through Scinde; we are resolved to open the commerce of that great highway of nations; and you, who receive benefit thereby, must join in this measure leading to the good of all, and to the loss of none.' Wherefore to excuse the Ameers upon the ground that others are not equally coerced, is answered by coercing the others."

But long before such consistency was introduced in this policy, of coercion to enforce freedom of trade on a river in which the real obstacles to traffic are ever shifting sand banks, whirlpools, and the hidden snags of uprooted babul trees, the Mirs' regime had been subverted. In the century which has all but passed since that event, the efforts of Sindh's rulers have been directed not to the freeing of the Indus, but its coercion, for irrigation: and though the mighty stream may still occasionally burst free from guidance, as we have seen to our cost this year, the collar of the Sukkur Barrage is firmly about its neck, and the taming of the "Mitho Darya," which has so benefitted the people of Sindh, may be held to justify the means by which the power over it was acquired.

Hyderabad,
October 1st 1942.

The Scinde Irregular Horse, in its earliest days

By H.T. Lambrick, I.C.S.

(Read before the Sindh Historical Society on 31st July, 1940.)

The famous Corps which first associated the name of our Province with the Indian Army is fortunate in that the history of its most glorious period was compiled in great detail by John Jacob, who commanded it directly or indirectly for seventeen years. The two volumes of the *Record Book of the Scinde Irregular Horse*, published by him in 1851 and 1855, contain however a great deal of matter which concerns not so much the Corps as Jacob himself; for instance, his proceedings on the frontier of Upper Sindh in his other capacities of Political Officer and Engineer. And conversely, the Regimental records prior to his appointment to the command are somewhat scanty. It is with this first period, extending over nearly three years, 1838-1841, that I shall deal in this paper: and less with the achievements of the Scinde Horse in the field than with its raising and early organization.

Towards the close of the year 1838, the armies designed to replace Shah Shujah on the *masnad* of Kabul had been put in motion. The Bombay Division was actually on Sindh soil, near the mouth of the Indus, and the Bengal Division, together with the troops recruited for the Shah's own army, were moving down the Sutlej. At Hyderabad, Colonel Henry Pottinger, the British Resident at the Talpur court, was negotiating for the free passage of the troops through Sindh, and for the acceptance of a new treaty by the Mirs, whose hositlity was very evident; for several weeks a collision seemed probable. On the 19th December, Pottinger requisitioned the Reserve Force, which had been assembled in Bombay, as a make-weight in his diplomacy. This force had been prepared for the occupation of certain strategic points in Sindh, to maintain the lines of communication after the main armies should have passed through. It consisted of one British and two Indian infantry regiments, with some artillery: and Pottinger, in consultation with Sir John Keane, the Commander-in-Chief on the expeditionary force, recommended the addition of a regiment of cavalry. Pottinger

considered that the new corps should be an Irregular one. His views were accepted, and this was the origin of the Scinde Horse.

It will be as well to explain at the outset the difference between the Regular and Irregular Cavalry systems.

The Regular Cavalry, of which the Bombay Army had three Regiments, were then as now horsed, armed, equipped, clothed, supplied, and moved, at State expense. Each had a large complement of European Officers, from Cornet up to Lieutenant-Colonel, the junior most of whom ranked above the senior Indian Officer, who could not aspire to substantive command even of a Troop, of which there were generally eight in a Regiment. Every detail of dress, equipment, and horse-management prevailing in the British Cavalry was copied slavishly, and the Indian trooper was forced to wear a tight jacket with a stock, and strapped "over alls", not to mention the complicated frippery of Lancer helmets or Hussar Shakos, sabre-taches, shabracques, and similar absurdities. His cost to the State averaged about Rs. 70 per month per man.

In an Irregular Corps, on the other hand, the men themselves provided horses, clothing, equipment, and arms, which were thus their private property, placed by them at the disposal of the State, from which they received nothing but their pay, medical stores, and ammunition. This was known as the *Sillidari* system: and the average monthly cost of the trooper scarcely amounted to forty rupees. The type of uniform and arms were matters within the discretion of each Commandant, but generally tended towards the Indian style. An Irregular Corps might be said to be constituted on the basis of a contract between its Commander, the men, and the Government. Only three European Officers were appointed to these Corps, in addition to the Surgeon: and as often as not they were drawn from the regular Infantry or Artillery, not necessarily the Cavalry. Indian Officers thus held substantive command not only of the Troop, of 100 men, but of the Squadron consisting of two Troops— commands which in Regular Cavalry went respectively to senior subalterns or Captains, and Majors.

A detachment of 300 sabres of the Poons Auxiliary Horse, which was at this time the only Regiment on the Bombay Establishment constituted on the Irregular system, joined the Advance under Sir John Keane at Tatta on December 30th, and

Outram speaks of them on their arrival as "Captain Ward's Horse." Pottinger had been in communication with Captain Ward on the question of raising the new corps, and had come to the conclusion that the best method was to form it on the nucleus of the squadron of the Poona Auxiliary Horse which for several years past had been serving in Cutch under Ward's command. Ward was a Captain in the 15th Bombay Infantry, and besides commanding the "Cutch Detachment", as it was known, was Assistant Political Resident there. The connection of this detached squadron with the parent stock at Sirur in the Deccan had not been completely severed; for the purposes of promotion it was looked upon as part of the Corps, but it had practically become a distinct unit, and was not called upon for service with Keane's army. The detachment of the Poons Horse that Outram mentions was commanded by Captain Erskine, but it seems probable that Ward had been summoned up to Tatta to discuss the proposal with the Political Agent in person. He shortly afterwards returned to Cutch.

Ward recommended that the strength of the Cutch Detachment should be increased from 200 to 500 officers and men, and that a European Second-in-Command should be appointed.

Meanwhile Pottinger was asked to explain the reasons for his preference for the Irregular System, for the duties which the proposed Corps would have to perform in Sindh, and he applied to Ward for the information. In a letter from Bhuj, dated the 22nd February 1839, Ward observed that late experience had confirmed the opinion long entertained, of the superior usefulness of Irregular Horse for policing a country, and proceeded to reproduce some remarks recorded five years before by Colonel Sutherland, a distinguished Political Officer who had long been connected with Irregulars.

The essentials were, that only a small number of European Officers should be employed; and that good pay for all ranks should be allowed. Sutherland's remarks continued "It is difficult to determine what is sufficient to support troops in a condition to be at all times fit for service, and to march at a moment's notice complete with horses, arms, appointments, Bazars, etc., without demanding any further assistance from Government or any country through which they pass other than what their own Bazars and pockets can

command. This I consider to be essential to the efficiency of Irregular Horse".

"Money is the first essential. A few rupees more, will produce cavalry ready to march at all times to any part of India. A few rupees less will reduce them to a comparatively crippled state.......... therefore Rs. 40 is not much for a Sillidar's pay."

Ward fully agreed with these views: he considered the existing pay of his men too low in all grades, but in none so much as the ordinary Sowar's, namely, Rs. 30 per month. From this sum a sillidar could save very little: he had to provide himself with a horse, arms, equipment and clothing, perhaps a carbine; to feed himself and his horse, and generally a family. He had always to be well dressed, and ready to march at a moment's notice and he had to keep a *syce* or grasscutter and a camel or pony to carry his own or his servant's kit. Frequently two or three sillidars clubbed together to provide this transport. And he received nothing from the Commissariat, whether in quarters or in the field, except ammunition: he had to keep his clothes and arms in repair himself: and finally, he was entitled to no pension from Government.

Rs. 30 per month was not, then, an excessive rate of remuneration!

In the most favourable circumstances, the amount that could be saved from it would be very small: yet the sillidar generally had to suffer deductions from his pay to refund advances and debts incurred in equipping himself, besides keeping his family in decency, and, if possile, laying up a little for unforeseen circumstances. Ward agreed with Colonel Sutherland that in average conditions the private sillidar was a loser rather than a gainer by his service.

Of course, the explanation of the achievement of these seemingly impossible financial feats was that men of respectable position, with some money of their own, entered the Irregular Cavalry.

Ward felt that the fact of this chronic inadequacy of the Irregular's pay should be given practical recognition by increasing it. There was, moreover, better reason to give enhanced rates in Sindh than in any other Province, as the price of grain there was very high.

He recommended scales of pay according to which the total monthly cost of a Sillidar Regiment of 533 officers and men was a little over Rs. 25,000. The cost of a Regular Regiment of about the same strength would be roughly Rs. 39,000: so there could be little doubt of the advantage of raising an Irregular Corps from the pecuniary point of view.

The pay of the private *sowar* suggested was Rs. 40, and that of the senior Indian Officer, the Rissaldar, Rs. 400. The five Jemadars commanding Troops, each 100 strong, were to receive Rs. 200. Ward observed: "The advantage of higher pay in the higher grades is obvious; it creates emulation, and is reward for gallant service." It should here be remarked, that promotion in sillidar Corps went entirely by selection by the Commanding Officer.

He concluded his general remarks by declaring boldly "It cannot be doubted that the efficiency of Sillidar Corps is at least equal to that of Regular Cavalry, in its different way."

As to the process of raising the new Regiment, the great advantage of producing it by augmentation of the Cutch Squadron was that many of the men serving under him came from highly respectable families, with numerous relatives in Hindustan, who, Ward expected, would immediately come forward to enter the Service, and fill the ranks in a very short time. It must here be mentioned that though there were numbers of Marathas, Deccani Mussalmans, and Rajputs serving in the Poona Auxiliary Horse at this time, the majority of the men were Mussalmans from Hindustan, belonging for the most part to the class corresponding with the yeoman-farmer in England, with a long tradition of service in the Cavalry.

Ward went on to recommend that in the first instance Government should give some considerable pecuniary assistance to meet the expense of the first outlay on horses, arms and uniforms, the money advanced to be recovered from the men in about 12 monthly instalments. Without these advances, he feared the augmentation would proceed but slowly.

He also proposed that the number of additional men to be entertained should be clothed in the same colours and equipped in the same manner as the original squadron: but instead of the

carbines with which the latter were armed, he recommended pistols and lances for the new levy. This he thought would render the whole body fit for all duties that could be required of them. Those with carbines would be selected for the surprise and attack on a village, while those who carried the spear and pistol would be most serviceable as skirmishers.

Ward concluded this letter by acknowledging the assistance he had received from Captain Outram, who had shown him Colonel Sutherland's papers on Irregular Cavalry, and some memoranda of his own. Their exchange of views, begun perhaps when Outram visited Cutch Mandvi in quest of camels for the transport of the Army of the Indus on the 2nd December, must have been resumed at the camp at Tatta, for Ward's first letter on the subject to Pottinger was dated from that place, from which he shortly afterwards returned to Bhuj.

I do not think that this association of Outram with the Scinde Horse, at this its pre-natal stage, has been noticed before; it is gratifying to be able to record it, as these main principles of Irregular Cavalry organization were later so magnificently developed in the Corps by John Jacob, whom Outram appointed to the command.

Pottinger communicated Ward's proposals to the Government of India, with his own concurrence. They were generally approved, except for the scales of pay, which were thought far too high "particularly in the case of Privates, viz. Rs. 40. The pay of the same class in Hindustan is Rs. 20, out of which they furnish themselves completely, and His Lordship does not understand how the price of the necessities of life, or the general wants of the men, can vary so widely in different parts of the country as to make so vast a distinction in their rates of pay advisable or necessary." The Government of India proceeded to communicate for information an abstract of the pay and establishment of the 1st Local Bengal Horse (better known as Skinner's Horse) "the efficiency of which has never been called in question", and requested assimilation with these of the rates of pay for the Scinde Horse, subject to unavoidable increases on account of local conditions. The 4th Bengal Local Horse, then serving west of the Indus, it was pointed out, had been granted certain extra allowances, but these did not quite bring the pay of the *sowars* up to Rs. 30.

So before the new Regiment was embodied, we see the maxim of "assimilation with the practice in Bengal" laid down. This continued to be inculcated with ever increasing rigour up to the Mutiny, eighteen years later: and through the whole of that period, John Jacob ceased not to fulminate against its ruinous effects.

The Government of Bombay, to which the Supreme Government had left discretion in fixing the exact rates, now took up the tale. The Risaldar was to receive Rs. 250 instead of Rs. 400: the Jemadars Rs. 150 instead of Rs. 200, and the *sowars* Rs. 30 instead of Rs. 40. They observed: "in recommending rates as high as Captain Ward and Colonel Pottinger have done, no reason is given except the dearness of forage and provisions in the country where they are to be employed. His Lordship cannot admit that, because the necessities of life were at an unusually high price on the arrival of the Reserve Force in Sindh, in consequence of the failure of the crops for successive years, wages should be permanently fixed with reference to high prices. The crops are said to be most abundant this year........." An observation follows which is rather amusing, considering the actual experiences of the Corps from the time it was embodied— "His Lordship is of opinion that as the Corps will be for the most part stationary, living in cantonments, they will have no claim to further allowances."

Finally "The advancing money to the newly raised men as recommended by Captain Ward appears to His Lordship very objectionable. If established as a rule, It would be necessary to give it to all recruits— those who wanted, and those who did not want, assistance in their equipment, alike."

This communication was dated 20th June, by which time Ward was in Sindh with his squadron. He had meanwhile produced estimates for the clothing and equipping of a private *sowar*. One mode of affording aid at the time of enlistment was for Government to sanction the making up in Bombay of certain articles, the expense being defrayed by monthly stoppages from the men's pay. This would ensure uniformity, as well as relieving the men from much trouble and excessive expense.

The interest attaching to the contemporary cost of articles of equipment perhaps justifies reproduction here of the list forwarded

by Ward with his letter. The total cost of a *sowar's* equipment was Rs. 68-9, made up as follows:

Horse Equipment

		Rs.
	Bridle	1 3
*	Saddle	7 6
*	Cloth Bridle	
*	Crupper	3 4
	Breast plate	
	Martingale	0 12
*	Saddle Cloth	4 8
	Surcingle	0 6
	Gram— Bag	0 6
	Common Coir Brush	0 4
	Halter	0 4
	Head and Heel ropes	1 0
	Jool	3 0
		22 7

Personal Equipment

*	Cloth Coat	10 0
*	Boots	2 10
	Spurs	0 8
*	Pouch and belt	2 0
*	Pair of pistols	25 0
	Priming horn	1 4
*	Holsters	2 8
	Spear	2 4
		46 2

* To be made up in Bombay.

The average price of the horses was estimated at Rs. 200. Men were evidently expected to provide their own swords. However, the Government of Bombay informed Pottinger that the Central Government's ban on allowing any advances on enlistment

precluded the adoption of this expedient: and Ward pleaded in vain for an exception to be made.

On the 20th July, the Bombay Government communicated the Government of India's approval to the scale of pay and the establishment they had proposed, and requested Pottinger to take measures for raising a body of Horse accordingly. He was asked to report whether the Detachment hitherto serving in Cutch should return thither or whether its services could be dispensed with "now that the frontier of this Presidency has been extended to Sindh."

Ward was thereupon ordered to proceed to Cutch for entertaining men and horses for the new Levy, taking with him one Jemadar and twelve men to assist him in recruiting. In his absence, Captain Crozier of the 26th Bombay Infantry, part of the Reserve Force then stationed at Tatta, was appointed to take charge of the rest of the squadron. We learn that the Mirs Government protested to the Assistant Political Agent that liquor was being sold outside the cavalry lines; the suggestion that the troops were involved was indignantly repudiated: it was the "Sycelog" who drank spirits!

On September 24th Ward reported to Pottinger from Bhuj that he expected to have enrolled 100 horses for the new Levy by the end of the month: but almost immediately afterwards he received orders to proceed to Sukkur with the squadron, which had been urgently requisitioned by Brigadier Gordon, Commanding in Upper Sindh, who was greatly hampered by lack of cavalry in his efforts to hold in check the turbulent population of that country. Ward at once made ready, but represented that as he had reason to believe that he would be nominated to the Command of the Corps which he was in the process of raising, it would be better for the public service that he should continue at Bhuj recruiting, rather than proceed to Sukkur with a detachment which could only muster 150 men: and Government would appreciate the desirability of appointing a second in Command. He suggested that Captain Crozier might go to Sukkur in charge of the detachment: though he himself was proceeding to Hyderabad as ordered, he pointed out the very great confusion that was likely to ensue in all the arrangements he had made for entertaining men and horses, in his absence— everything would come to a stand, and the great object of speedily completing the Corps would be lost.

Not very long after he had arrived at Hyderabad, Ward was told that he could go to Bhuj and continue his recruiting. Brigadier Gordon had expressed his approval to the 150 men of the detachment being brought to Upper Sindh by Crozier: but in point of fact, when they did move up, about the beginning of November, they were led by the redoubtable Lieutenant Walpole Clarke, of the 2nd Grenadier Native Infantry.

Pottinger now received a rap over the knuckles from the Bombay Government. The delay in appointing European Officers to the Sindh Rissalah, he was told, was due to his delay in informing Government whether a Detachment of Horse in Cutch was still necessary or not. He replied that 100 men were required for duty there; and on the 21st December 1839 the Government of Bombay at length made the final appointments. Ward was not, after all, to receive command of the new Corps, which was given to Lieutenant W.F. Curtis of the 1st Bombay Light Cavalry, one of the regular Regiments. Lieut. Clarke was to be 2nd in command, and to perform the duties of Adjutant. The detachment of 100 men from Cutch would be in charge of Ware, as Assistant Political Agent at Bhuj.

Ward complained that other essential matters were not settled by these orders. For instance, there was as yet no order constituting the Corps itself, and he did not know from what date the establishment was to be calculated, though since August he had been recruiting and making promotions according to the scales laid down. However, before handing over to Curtis, he sent Pottinger a resume of his proceedings.

In consequence of the extraordinary demand in Hindustan for men and horses at this time, he had been disappointed in his hopes of procuring them for the Levy from this source, and was thrown upon the resources of the original detachment. As a result of the refusal of Government to sanction a pecuniary advance, or to have equipment furnished from Bombay, (the cost to be reimbursed by monthly deductions from the men's pay) he had been obliged to take up money to a conisderable amount, and at some serious risk to himself.

He hoped that considering these obstacles, and the fact that he had been absent himself at Hyderabad for nearly a month, the total

number of horses and men entertained— 220 horses and 130 men, with 120 men on their way to join— would be though satisfactory, especially as with the exception of pistols, the whole would soon be fully equipped. He continued "the money which I have borrowed on the part of the Rissala amounts to about Rs. 35,000. It will be repaid by monthly instalments in proportion to the number of horses possessed by each sillidar. A sum has also been advanced to the contractors for furnishing the equipments, which will be repaid in a similar way. Bonds (Tumusooks) have been furnished by the men to the Rissalla Shroff in which the amount of monthly instalments is stated, and Lieut. Curtis has merely to see that these men are regularly paid.

"I have also advanced money to men who are employed in recruiting, and this I intended (had I retained command) to have recovered when the Abstracts of pay were submitted. The recruits will of course be entitled to subsistence money from the date of their being entertained......... I have charged Sillidars a small sum more than the value of each horse purchased by me, and with which I acquainted them, to protect myself against the heavy risk I incurred by having at times and for a considerable period horses worth in the aggregate Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 12,000 on my hands: the loss occasioned by the death of any one of which, or all, devolved on me; as well as the chance of accidents happening to them. Unless I had made some arrangement of this sort with the Sillidars I must have been completely fettered in my labours.

"I have now recorded the whole of my proceedings in this duty, and I trust that my exertions to merit the approval of Government will have succeeded, and that the Sinde Rissalah will, when complete, do credit to itself and fully meet the objects for which it was entertained."

Let us pause to notice the actual achievements of the Corps at the time that Ward wrote these words. 180 men of the original squadron were then serving in the Bugti hills under Clarke, as the cavalry of the small field-force commanded by Major Billamore.

Before entering the hills they had been engaged in several smart affairs against bands of the Dombki and Jakhrani predatory tribes under their best known leaders, whom they had routed in the Tewagh valley and near Uch, thus wiping out the stigma left by the

failure of Lieut. Amiel's Baluch Levy. Amiel himself was so impressed by their efficiency that he proposed the reorganization of his Levy on the exact model of the Scinde Horse, even to the copying of their dark-green knee-length coats, their scarlet *puggarees*, and their carbines. All these features, destined soon to become familiar on the Upper Sindh Frontier, had been inherited from the Poona Auxiliary Horse; and the turban of the Scinde Horseman was for many years tied in the Maratha fashion.

In the hills, they had played a decisive part in the defeat of the whole Bugti tribe near Dera, by a detachment under the command of Captain Raitt: and Clarke had repeatedly distinguished himself by his skill, coolness, and bravery.

It should be mentioned that these men of the Cutch Squadron were not without experience of active service. Most of the Indian Officers, and senior Other Ranks, had fought either in the Maratha War of 1817-1820, or in the Cutch campaign of 1819, or in the punitive expeditions against the predatory Khosa tribe of Baluchis in Nagar Parkar and the vicinity. Many of them had been in the regular Cavalry Regiments of the Bombay Army, from which they had volunteered for service with the Irregulars, with whom the prospects of promotion and of exercising independent command were superior.

We may now return to the newly raised part of the Corps, which remained at Hyderabad in an incomplete state.

Curtis on joining found that Ward had raised it chiefly by means of loans taken up by him at 24% interest. The debts amounted to Rs. 39,000; Rs. 31,000 incurred on purchase of horses and Rs. 8,000 for equipment and for recruiting advances. This money had been supplied by the celebrated Seth Naomal Hotchand, who had thereafter been appointed Regimental Shroff. We may describe the transaction in his own words:

"The Government of Bombay had sanctioned the addition of 300 more horse to the strength of the Bhooj Rassallah, but had expressed their inability to meet the expenditure immediately, and had authorised him (Ward) to arrange with some banker for the purchase of 300 horses. The Rai of Cutch had undertaken to find him horses, but there was no banker (shaukar) in Bhooj or Mandavi

who could advance him a loan to enable him to complete the bargain, and he (Ward) would feel much obliged, he said, if I could assist him in the matter." Naomal being assured by Colonel Pottinger that Government would appreciate his services, wrote, he says "with my own hand a Gujarati letter to the Rai of Cutch to request a loan of 2.5 lakhs of Koris (Cutch coin) which I promised to repay within 15 days. The Rai very kindly sent me immediately on carts the amount asked for, which I forwarded straight to Captain Ward, who received the treasure and passed a receipt. Captain Ward soon set to purchase horses, and he obtained sowars from Poona through the Bombay Government......... I soon drew hundis on my firms at Bombay, Muscat and Karachi to the amount of the loan I had obtained from the Rai, and had them cashed at Mandavi through my mercantile agent at that place. Within a week's time my Mandavi agent sent me the required amount in cash, which I thankfully returned to the Rai's treasury on the eighth day."

Ward had not proceeded on the principle of enlisting men who could produce efficient horses: he had in fact been unable to obtain such men: he had instead bought horses to a considerable amount, until they exceeded the facilities of finding riders for them.

It must be explained that Irregular Cavalry Regiments did not consist solely of Sillidar Sowars. A Sillidar might have almost any number of horses in the Corps, those which he did not require for mounting himself being allotted to Bag-gir (literally, rein-holder) *sowars*, who were private soldiers of the regiment like the Sillidars, but did not draw the Rs. 20 which was considered as the share of the horse in the sowar's pay: the rule in the Poona Auxiliary Horse being that Rs. 10 was the pay of the man, Rs. 20 the upkeep of the horse.

Ward had enlisted 94 men on Rs. 6 per month to fill the places of regular Bag-girs with Rs. 10 in the muster rolls. Forty five of these "badlis" had run away, at Hyderabad, in January 1840, but Ward managed to replace them— what class of men these were is not disclosed, but it must be supposed that they were enrolled for appearance only.

As Curtis found the difficulty in obtaining suitable Bag-girs was real, he set himself first to obtain horses, and Sillidars with sufficient means to pay for them. The market for horses in Sindh was extremely limited. After five months, he had only been able to

obtain 30 fit for service, at prices ranging from Rs. 180 down to Rs. 39. As to Sillidars, he had only been able, in the same period, to enlist 4 or 5 suitable men, having money to pay for their horses; he observed, "by means of Shroffs and Banyans I might be able to 'remount' in a considerably shorter time than otherwise: but I question whether their Bargheers would be nearly so efficient as those belonging to old soldiers, for when my eye was off them they exert their whole influence, to receive the fullest possible benefit from their speculation, their Bargheers would be tampered with and their horses starved; and, by their engrossing so many places, I should never have it in my means to reward men, who had deserved it, by presenting them with a Sillidaree, (or Assamee) — I am therefore averse to these persons."

Under the Sillidari system as then in practice, persons not actually serving in the Regiment might possess horses belonging to it. Until November 1840, sixteen horses stood in the name of Seth Naomal. They were then bought in by Curtis. It may be mentioned, as bearing out Curtis' opinion given above, that one of these had to be struck off the list in Karachi, for bad condition and disobedience of orders. Tikamdas, Naomal's son, and Motiram who appears to have been another shroff, had four and three horses respectively, even later. By July 1841 these had been disallowed, and their value refunded; but there still remained about twenty horses in the Corps owned by outsiders— mostly old Native Officers of the Poona Auxiliary Horse and Cutch Detachment. But even the *Mootsuddee* or Regimental Clerk, owned four horses; and a *Bheestie* three.

Curtis' greatest concern, however, was to retrieve the deplorable financial condition of the Corps: and he had a long and somewhat acrimonious correspondence with Ward to elucidate the accounts of the men's debts. At length the explanation was discovered to be that Ward, after purchasing 100 horses from the Rao of Cutch, at an average price of Rs. 270, had sold eighteen of the best of them to his Native Officers, charging an extra Rs. 200 on each as the value of the "Assami", or right to a horse's place in the Corps. This over-charge was shown against the men, being included in the debt due from them, but did not appear in the register list of the horses. This arrangement must be presumed to have been Ward's method of protecting himself provisionally from loss; but it had an ugly aspect, for ten of these horses had been enlisted for his

own use, and were only made over to the Native Officers when he learnt that his connection with the Corps was to cease.

In reporting the position to Outram, now Political Agent Lower Sindh, at the end of July 1840, Curtis observed that if he was entitled to sell for Rs. 470 horses that he had bought at Rs. 270, "it may be supposed that, having now 138 vacant Assamees, I am somewhat interested in a decision that might prove, if given in favour of Commandants, so profitable to me. In the meantime I protest against such a principle, and await your advice as to calling on Captain Ward to refund the excess with interest at 24% .... On no consideration whatever will I permit any European Officer to become a Sillidar in this corps, whether in his own or another person's name."

The crushing nature of the men's debts can be appreciated from the fact, that the loan bore interest at this exorbitant rate; and the dangerous results of advancing large sums with little regard to the financial capacity of the recipients are sufficiently obvious in the statement of the accounts drawn up at this time. For instance, Jemadar Allahdad Khan Nawab had borrowed as much as Rs. 3,300, with which he purchased 18 horses; and a Duffadar about half that amount, for nine.

In contrast to these were men of the true substantial sillidar type: Jemadar Mir Babar Ali only purchased three horses, and paid off his debt, with interest, before July 1840; and Jemadar Mohbut Khan, who bought horses, only took a nominal advance of Rs. 30. Private sowars and N.C.O's had not been advanced money for more than two Assamis.

On Curtis' recommendation, supported by Outram, Government bowed to the inevitable, and on the 6th July advanced a sum equal to the unpaid balance, plus interest already accrued, to clear off the debt to Naomal: the Government loan bearing only 6% interest. Curtis then arranged that the refunds should be at the rate of Rs. 8 per man per horse, deducted each month from their pay. Naomal's version of this transaction is, I fear, somewhat disingenuous. Under the original arrangement, he says, "I was requested to appoint my goomashtas to pay the soldiers their salaries every month, and to arrange for the supply of provisions. I continued the work for five or six months, at the end of which I

perceived that it was the business of an ordinary shroff or banker, and did not suit my position. I explained my objections to Colonel Outram, and told him that I should feel much obliged to him if he would kindly permit me to transfer the duty to someone else whom he might appoint, and allow me to clear up all old accounts with the Rassallah, and obtain from the Government the amount, I had originally advanced to Captain Ward at Bhooj to enable him to raise the Rassallah. He accordingly wrote to Government and obtained sanction to pay off my loan, and I soon severed my connection with the Rassallah and called back my goomashtas."

Naomal and his son Tikamdas however retained their position as Sillidars in the Corps for some time after this, as previously mentioned.

At the same time as authorising the grant of the loan, the Government of India expressed their regret at the mistaken system which Ward had adopted, and suggested that the 94 men borne on the muster-roll who were drawing Rs. 6 instead of the regular Rs. 10 should be struck off, their horses sold, and the proceeds credited to repayment of the regimental debts. Their places should not be filled except by volunteers, and thereafter recruitment should be from the same class of men as supplied the Poona Auxiliary Horse, the constitution of which was to be followed by the Sindh Irregular Horse.

Curtis had in fact been in correspondence for some time past with Erskine, Commandant of the former Corps, which had now returned from Afghanistan, and Loc, who was commanding a detachment of it detained in Upper Sindh, on the subject of obtaining volunteers for the Scinde Horse; and the strength of the new Regiment steadily increased. Ensign George Malcolm, who had been appointed to the Corps as Adjutant in March 1840, brought up 140 men from Hyderabad to join the original detachment serving in Upper Sindh. These were armed with lances, as had been first suggested by Ward: but on a representation by Brigadier Stevenson of the comparative ineffectiveness of that weapon, Curtis was authorised to rearm the whole Regiment with carbines, for which he was to indent on the Government Stores, repayment being made by moderate instalments. But as only a small number of pistols and carbines were available, he was subsequently ordered to obtain them privately, following the example of Major Roberts, who was in the

process of raising another Sillidar Corps for the Bombay Army, the Gujarat Irregular Horse.

All this time the main body of the Scinde Horse was actively employed in the field. Eighty sowars under the command of Clarke accompanied the forces under Captain Lewis Brown, in the ill-fated expedition to Kahun, in May 1840, and several died sword in hand with their heroic leader at Sartaf. A detachment of 100 men under Malcolm marched with Major Clibborn's relieving column, and lost 40 killed and wounded at Naffusk. On Clibborn's retreat, the Sindh Horse had the honourable position of rear-guard, where they acquitted themselves most creditably.

In October, the head-quarters of the Corps under the personal command of Curtis were with Major Boscawen's Field Force operating in Kachhi against the Brahuis, and were engaged in the actions of Kunda and Dhadar, besides many other skirmishes. In February 1841, they formed part of the storming party in the unsuccessful attack on the town of Kajjak, near Sibi, and for the rest of this year they were constantly employed in keeping order on the line of communications through Kachhi and Upper Sindh.

By June 1841 the debts of the Sillidars had been reduced from the original sum of Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 8,000, though an additional amount of Rs. 8,000 interest remained. The rate of deductions had been lowered from Rs. 8 per month per horse to Rs. 5, by an advance drawn from the Political Agent's Treasury, to give relief while the men were on field service. Captain Ward had been obliged to refund nearly Rs. 3,000 charged by him as the imaginary price of the Assamis which he had sold to the Native Officers of the Corps.

The early difficulties under which the Corps had laboured were now well on the way to be settled. It was easy to censure Ward for his reckless financial arrangements; but the main blame must rest with the Governments of India and Bombay, who turned a deaf ear to his protests that a cavalry Corps on the Sillidari system could not be raised without pecuniary assistance in a country where horses were difficult to obtain, and at a vast distance from the homes of the men who were invited to fill the ranks.

At this point, the narrative of the early history of the Scinde Horse may be brought to a close. Much re-organization remained to

be done, and correspondence relative to pay-scales, establishment, increasing the proportion of Indian Officers to the total strength, changes in the nomenclature of the various ranks, and "assimilation with Bengal practice", continues to flow between the Commandant, the Political Agent, and the Governments of India and Bombay for several years.

Although the final organization and distinctive equipment of the Corps, which made it the model on which the cavalry of the Indian Army was reconstituted after the Mutiny, was the creation of John Jacob, it must be admitted that he owed more than he was ready to acknowledge to the reforms introduced by Curtis, who may claim at least to have laid the foundations of the Corps' pre-eminent efficiency.

Karachi
30th July, 1940.

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The Sindh Battles, 1843

I.— Miani

By H. T. Lambrick, I.C.S

With the attack on the British Residency near Hyderabad on February 15th, 1843, by some 8,000 Baluchis led by Mir Shahdad Khan, the last faint hopes of a peaceful settlement of the affairs of Sindh, till then cherished in spite of all probability by Outram, were finally dispelled. The force which attacked the Residency was detached from the host of the Mirs' feudatories which had already, on learning of Napier's preparations to advance from Syedabad to Hala, moved out rom Hyderabad and encamped on the Fuleli to bar his path, Mir Nasir Khan, the senior Talpur Prince, following them on the evening of the 14th. On Shahdad Khan rejoining him next day, Nasir Khan moved his camp to Lunar, and on the 16th the whole force of the Balochis was in position at Miani.

Outram had reached the British camp at Matiari from his steamer that morning, and persuaded Napier to allow him to descend the river again a short distance, to create a diversion by burning the jungles to the left and rear of the Baloch position, taking with him two hundred convalescent sepoys for the purpose. He estimated the strength of the Mirs' lashkar at 18,000 men, and warned Napier that the battle would be desperate. Napier had other sources of information. He had spies who went into the Baloch camp that very day[1], and returned with a tale of 30,000. The Mirs' munshis[2] and cossids, who had constantly been in motion between Hyderabad and the General's camps on his advance, must have given their masters an exact account of his little army: he could bring into line of battle 2,800 men, with twelve guns. This force was made up of four weak battalions of infantry; Her Majesty's 22nd Foot, the 1st (Grenadier), 12th, and 25th Bombay Native Infantry: two weak

1. Life, III. p. 92.
2. *e.g.*, Moolram, (Nasir's statement, Sindh Blue Book, supplementary, 1844. p. 123.)
Life, Vol. II. p. 323.

Regiments of Cavalry, the 9th Bengal Light Cavalry and the Scinde Irregular Horse, with a detachment of the Poona Irregular Horse; the 22nd Bombay Foot Artillery and 3rd Company Golandaz, with twelve guns: and C. Company Madras Sappers and Miners.

The disparity in numbers was in any case very great: but with every day it was likely to be increased by the arrival of further contingents of the Baloch tribesmen, who were known to Napier to be on the march towards the rendezvous at Miani. It was in the light of this knowledge that he had precipitated hostilities by continuing to advance on Hyderabad, in spite of Outram's protests: and whatever judgment may be passed on Napier's earlier proceedings in Sindh, he would have risked his army had he given the appearance of hesitation in these last three days. It was a relief to him to end the period of suspense. "Not to be anxious about attacking such immensely superior numbers is impossible; but it is delightful anxiety." Hardly were the words written when Jacob, whom he had sent out that evening to locate the Baloch army[3], returned to report that he had found them eight or nine miles away. Less than three hours remained for sleep; for at four o'clock in the morning of the 17th February, reveille sounded in the British camp and the little army got on the move for its last march. The Advance Guard was led as usual by the Scinde Horse, under John Jacob: with him were the Madras Sappers under Captain Henderson, and a working party of 100 sepoys, to prepare passages through the numerous canals and nullahs for the guns, of which two nine-pounders proceeded with Jacob.

An hour was spent in forming a road across two large canals not far from the camp, but thereafter the march proceeded without difficulty for about seven miles when, not long after sunrise, the Advance Guard came on the dry bed of the Fuleli, a dry branch of the Indus adapted for irrigation, here running almost due south. The troops followed a track which led along the left bank for a mile or more past several small villages embowered in trees; as they reached the second of these the sound of a distant cannon was heard. The General, who was now with the Advance Guard, formed up his infantry behind a small canal and unlimbered his two guns, shortly afterwards ordering Jacob to detach one squadron to skirt round a dense shikargah enclosed by a mud wall on the further bank

3. Jacob's letter to his father, dated February 23rd, 1843.

of the Fuleli, and to proceed himself to the left front with the rest of his regiment so as to reconnoitre beyond another shikargarh, the wall of which stretched away obliquely across the previous line of march.

Jacob soon ascertained that the Mirs army was in front of him, and sent back word to the General, who moved forward and somewhat to the left with the remainder of the Advance Guard, until he too came in sight of the Baluch position, at about a mile's distance. Here he halted to await the arrival of the main body of his army, and from the top of a small sandhill scanned the front through his glass: with his Staff he calculated the visible strength of the Balochis at 8,000 foot and 3,000 Horse. Meanwhile Jacob pushed briskly on over a little plain dotted with low sandy hillocks and camel bushes, bounded on the left by the shallow green bed of a watercourse, beyond which were low brushwood and trees, and on the right by the shikargarh wall, which after extending to about 700 yards from the watercourse turned away to the south nearly parallel with it. The narrow corridor thus formed led directly to the Mirs' position. On reaching a point about opposite the angle of the shikargarh wall, Jacob formed line from column, and halted his regiment about 500 yards from the foremost Baluchis, while he moved on himself to reconnoitre. Their main body was obvious enough, between two conspicuous flags, and filling the space between the wall, and a grove of trees with enclosed ground, to the left front. Several pieces of artillery were in position in front of the line on each flank, and in rear a large body of horse moved about, behind whom again the tents and flags of the Mirs' camp could just be seen through the dust. As Jacob walked his horse forward, he came under matchlock fire both from the shikargarh and the enclosures on his left front, which, he discovered, concealed a village. The Baluchis had thus occupied positions on each flank in advance of their main line. It was very difficult to judge their strength, for any number might be hidden in the wood and enclosure: and though Jacob approached to within two hundred yards from the centre of their line, he could not see that between their guns and the masses visible in rear of them ran the bed of the Fuleli, here at right angles to its former course, concealing large numbers of the Baloch tribesmen. Mir Nasir Khan tried to stop his people from firing, in the hope that a parley was intended. But he soon saw the officer and his escort turn and trot back to their corps;

whence Jacob despatched a note to the General, telling him what he had seen.

The Mir therefore gave the order for his cannon to open fire on the Scinde Horse, who preserved their formation in line, which was soon made more imposing by the arrival of Fitz Gerald's squadron. He had seen no enemy, but had ascertained that the shikargarh on the right bank of the Fuleli extended down stream for several miles; that it was free from the enemy, and impracticable for troops. The General therefore decided to engage the Baloch army in a frontal attack. But a long hour dragged away without a sign of the main body of his own army: it was delayed by accidents to the ammunition waggons in the nullahs. Meanwhile the Scinde Horse remained exposed to the fire of the Baloch artillery at little more than point-blank range, and the right of their line was annoyed by matchlock fire from the shikargarh wall: many Baloch horsemen too came here and there to the front, and dismounting fired on them with deliberate aim, and from time to time there was some appearance of a general advance being made; but on Jacob moving his line forward also, they returned to their former position and resumed their artillery fire. Though this was kept up intermittently for over an hour, and the guns were, in Jacob's opinion, "really not badly directed."— Mr. Howell, the Mirs' English artilleryman, was forced to point them, with eight matchlocks put to his head— only six of Jacob's horses were killed by the round shot: the first casualties on either side. The regiment remained perfectly steady under the ordeal.

At last the head of the main column of the British appeared, and the General moving forward as it closed on the Advance Guard, the whole wheeled left, and, when sufficient ground had been taken up, countermarched to the right, halted, and turned left into line, some three hundred yards behind the Scinde Horse, which Jacob now formed in squadron close column, to allow as much room as possible for the infantry, whose right flank was at about the same distance from the shikargarh wall, which was studded with matchlock men. The line was now carefully dressed, skirmishers thrown out, and some brushwood in front of H.M.'s 22nd cut down. Napier now gave orders for the men to have their breakfast, while he continued to examine the position and more particularly the shikargarh, through his telescope, and consider his plan of attack. In view of the reports of Jacob and FitzGerald, nothing but a frontal assault was

possible: but he was anxious for his flanks, and his rear. The Balochis continued their cannonade, but the range was long, and only an occasional round shot pitched close to the ranks: the matchlock men had gradually disappeared from the top of the Shikargarh wall, and by the time the General was ready to advance only one was left, sitting astride, and firing matchlocks passed up to him by men on the other side.[4] The British Artillery were now brought up on the right of the line, the Company of Madras Sappers flanking them, and Napier gave orders for the advance in echelon of battalions from the right, H.M.'s 22nd leading, and in succession the 25th, 12th and 1st Grenadiers. Napier ordered some men of the 22nd to shoot the Baloch on the wall as they advanced, and he fell. After two hundred yards were covered, the halt was given, and the gunners opened fire with round shot. It was nearly eleven o'clock, and the day was becoming very hot. The range was found too great for the practice of the artillery to be effective, and Napier advanced another 250 yards; the guns again unlimbered, and under their fire that of the Baloch cannon was observed to slacken. Again the British line, still in the same formation, was moved to about 300 yards from the Mir's position, and halted: and now at point blank range the artillery began such a fire as silenced the enemy's guns, four of them being withdrawn into the bed of the Fuleli; the howitzers also plied the shikargarh with grapeshot. But Napier was still anxious for this flank. He had passed close to a gap in the wall about a hundred yards beyond its first angle, and though a near view confirmed what he had seen through his telescope, that the wall was not loopholed, or provided with any banquette to enable men to fire over it, there remained the danger of a sortie on his rear. The line was now being dressed under a heavy matchlock fire, and the baggage brought up as close as possible behind it. Napier had ordered the kit to be gathered together and surrounded by the camels in a circle; and under the shelter of the infantry line this was done, the animals being made to sit with their heads pointing inwards, and bales in between them: and the troops detailed for the guard, four companies of the Bombay Grenadiers and the detachment of the Poona Horse, took up their stations. At the last moment it occurred to the General to engage the enemy within the shikargarh, and he detached Captain Tew with the Grenadier Company of the 22nd, with orders to defend the opening till the last[5].

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4. Life IV, p. 111.
5. Life IV, p. 111.

By now their comrades had begun to reply to the Baloch musketry, and at length the bugles sounded for the final advance: Napier sending word to Jacob to protect the left of the line, while he kept the 9th bengal Light Cavalry in reserve behind the right.

The infantry moved briskly forward, and now came the word to charge: the 22nd sprang forward up a slight slope at the line of matchlock men whose heads showed just above it, thinking to break them at once; but eager for close combat though they were, they wavered in astonishment as their eyes fell on the unsuspected bed of the Fuleli, and the host that awaited them there, whose thousand tulwars flashed in the sun.

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Meanwhile on the extreme right the Madras Sappers were well performing their duty of helping to get the artillery into position. This was made more difficult by the fact that the ground here was broken and encumbered with the cannon abandoned by the Balochis: moreover, the space left between the 22nd on their final advance, and the shikargah wall, which here bent outwards at a slight angle, was insufficient to allow of all the British guns being brought up into line. Only four could be unlimbered at all: the leading horses were shot the moment they showed their heads at the bank of the Fuleli, but Captain Hutt got a twelve pounder howitzer run up by main force,[6] and though at first the Balochis swarmed about him, they were driven back, and three more guns manhandled into position. Many tribesmen were now moving into the shikargah, with the obvious intention of turning the British right: some approaching under cover of the wall opened a galling matchlock fire on the Sappers, Artillery, and the right of the 22nd. Those of the Sappers who were armed replied with their fusils, while those with tools started breaking down the wall.[7] As soon as the gap was wide enough, Hutt trained a howitzer obliquely backwards into the shikargah, another gun fired across the muzzle of this one, while of the other two one enfiladed the Fuleli bed and the fourth plied the Mir's horsemen in the rear. By his management of the first two guns, Hutt, in Jacob's opinion, saved the right of the line: for Tew had been killed at the head of the company of the 22nd, which had advanced into the shikargarh some distance through the brushwood, and could hardly have sustained a heavy attack without support: but Hutt's grape kept the Balochis back in the dense jungle. As for the guns which enfiladed the bed of the Fuleli, nothing could have been more effective: yet the Balochis made no attempt to capture them, though their muzzles were only a few yards from the foremost of the brave men who filled the river bed close as a field of corn, through which each discharge cut a bloody swathe. Well was it for the British that no such concerted rush, as a handful of Marris had made with fiery impetuosity at Naffusk, was launched against Napier's guns by the Mirs' far more numerous lashkar.

The contracting front, which had crowded the artillery out of the right of the line in the final advance, had proved even more awkward on the left. Napier's object in adopting the echelon

6. Jacob's letter.
7. Captain Henderson's report.

formation was to refuse this flank, on account of Sultan Shah village[8] and its enclosures being occupied by the Balochis in front of their main position: he intended that the Grenadiers should attack, and force the Balochis out of it: and Jacob, with his Regiment drawn up in squadron close column immediately to the north of the enclosed ground, found that the advance of the infantry line was bringing the Grenadiers up straight behind him, while the 12th N. I. passed on, coming up into line with the 25th. Concluding that the task of carrying the village had been allotted to the Grenadiers, he moved left, to fulfil his own orders to protect the flank, which it seemed might be most effectively done by making a diversion beyond Sultan Shah, and trying to find a way round it. But the Mirs' commanders had foreseen and prepared for such a move. Every nullah, hole, and watercourse had been scarped and lined by numerous matchlock men, firing through thorn hedges; the ground was also quite "blind," uneven and covered with jungle. Advancing at a gallop over these obstacles so many falls occurred that over fifty horses and men were on the ground at once; the fire from the village 60 yards on the right was very heavy, and casualties among Jacob's men and horses began to mount, with no corresponding gain. His own charger was shot dead under him, and in another instant the whole regiment, its formation sadly disorganized, was brought to a stand by a deep and wide cut from the Fuleli, strongly manned by matchlockmen, and utterly impassable for cavalry. Jacob accepted the inevitable and ordered the Retire, extricating his men as rapidly as he could.

Meanwhile Major Clibborn, commanding the 1st Grenadiers, had made no attack on the village. He had only 200 bayonets at his disposal, the baggage guard having absorbed twice that number of his men; and to launch such a small force against a village carefully prepared for defence, and held by perhaps five times his strength, may well have seemed to court disaster, which would not be confined to his own unit. He felt bound to maintain contact with the 12th N. I., which had advanced right up to the Fuleli bed, and to do so had had to take up a position "en potence" — facing almost Eastward while the main line faced south. Here he kept up a skirmishing fire on the village and enclosures.

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8. In all previous accounts, the name of the village is shown as Katri. But this is what the surrounding country is called, not the village itself: the name which is correctly given on Waddington's plan.

Far different was the action on the brink of the Fuleli. Over it now hung a pall of dust and smoke, through which the flash of matchlock and musket and cannon lightened, and battling forms appeared now clearly, now dimly, as the advantage swung to and fro;the roar of the musketry seemed continuous, almost drowning the staccato thud of the artillery[9]. It was now past noon and still fresh Balochis pressed forward to fill the places of those that fell under the musketry, whose bodies began to pile thickly on the ledge below the bank. Ever and anon, driven to desperation by the incessant torment of grape and musket-balls, a band of devoted swordsmen stormed up it and hurled themselves upon the bayonets; but though the British line several times gave ground under the sheer weight of the charges, it remained unbroken; and lapping round their assailants from each flank sepoy and soldier roughly handled them with the bayonet, and drove the survivors back into the river bed. But the troops could not yet be made to counter-attack: as soon as their ranks were back in their old position, six or eight paces from the brink, they halted, the men only advancing to deliver their fire into the dense masses of the enemy, and returning to load. Many of the men were constantly engaged in wiping blood or sweat from the pans of their muskets, or adjusting their flints, defending themselves with their bayonets the while: yet they maintained a rate of fire which gradually beat down that of the matchlocks, for the "old hands" now loaded without the ramrod; the cartridge fitted "Brown Bess" so loosely that the weight of the ball, with a smart tap of the butt on the ground was sufficient to send it home.[10]

The General, well up in the front with the 22nd, never ceased to urge the men on; and the Queen's and Company's Officers vied with each other in intrepidity. Major Teasdale, commanding the 25th N. I., and Major Jackson, second in command of the 12th N. I., fell gallantly in the midst of the Baloch swordsmen: Lt.-Col. Pennefather, commanding H. M.'s 22nd, was badly wounded: and of those who took their places, few were unscathed, whether rallying their men, or sacrificing themselves in setting an example to engage the enemy more closely. Mir Nasir Khan, for his part, sent word to his commander in the field, Mir Jan Muhammad Khanani, to lead a general assault. The Sardar made a valiant effort: but just as he had

9. Jacob's letter of 23rd February, 1843.
10. General McMurdo, quoted in Bruce.

made his way to the front rank and was encouraging his men, Lieut. McMurdo, Napier's Aide-de-Camp, who, on his horse being killed, obtained permission to fight with his old regiment, dashed down into the river bed, with a handful of men, hoping the rest would follow: meeting Jan Muhammad, he killed him and another, fighting hand to hand; but finding himself and his few companions unsupported and all but surrounded, forced his way back, amazed at the conduct of the 22nd, who still kept their ground just behind the brink. In vain he ordered, objurgated, and implored them to charge; a man shouted "Mr. McMurdo, if you don't leave off we'll shoot you." Up till this moment, in spite of their far heavier casualties, the Mirs' troops had a fair chance of victory: for Mir Jan Muhammad, as a member of one of the senior collateral branches of the Talpur house, known and respected for his bravery by the tribal sardars, might well by his example have got all to combine in a simultaneous onset. However, he fell; Mir Nasir Khan ordered Ghulam Shah Talpur, of the Shahwani clan, to take command in his place, but this chief was also killed shortly afterwards. Had the Baloch tribesmen possessed the elements of discipline, and their sardars been kept under effective control, with cool and resolute direction, their host must have prevailed: but all three were wanting: the clans mustered together shoulder to shoulder along the bed of the Fuleli looked only to their own front. And so, undirected, the desperate valour of the Mir's feudatories spent itself in vain: their rushes were uncoordinated, mere individual efforts of tribal sardars leading a knot of devoted clansmen.

Even so, the slender line of the British was hard put to it to repel these repeated onslaughts: and while the fight was at its hottest the old General had ridden forward through the ranks of the 22nd, and, followed by Majors Waddington and Wyllie, passed slowly down the front of the line; an extra ordinary apparition, bareheaded, with spectacles on eagle nose, grey whiskers singed by the wilder firing of his own men, and stirred by the wind of matchlock balls, waving his jockey cap in the air, yelling and blaspheming. Twice he rallied the 22nd, but he could not make them charge; and he passed on to the 25th N. I. Here he was almost alone in front of the line when a Baluch came over the bank, and came straight towards him: Napier had sprained his wrist, punching the head of a delinquent camel man at Daulatpur, nine days before,[11] and could hardly have

11. Life Vol. II, p. 298.

defended himself: but Lieutenant Marston springing forward attracted the eye of the oncoming Baloch, and received his first cut on his brass epaulette: a return blow was parried by the Baluch with his shield, but a sepoy advancing plunged his bayonet into his side, and Marston at the same time got over his guard with a final cut, being saved himself by another sepoy engaging a second Baloch warrior who was about to cut him down from behind. Napier remained where he was, moving down the narrow lane between two fires, and thrice rallied the 25th before returning to his old position. He had recognized that the crisis of the battle had come, and for a final effort sent three successive staff officers to order the cavalry on the left wing to charge.

During the course of the action the 9th Bengal Cavalry had moved over to the support of this flank from their first position behind the right of the line, and they were now about thirty yards behind the Grenadiers. While Sir Charles' messengers were yet on their way, this latter regiment fell into some confusion. Whether some order of Major Clibborn, commanding, was misunderstood, or whatever the reason, is obscure: but a bugler was sounding the "retire" — and said he took it up "from someone else." Most of the sepoys went to the right about, and it was only by great exertions of their officers that they were rallied and faced the foe again. The Balochis manning the enclosures and Sultan Shah village, encouraged by the appearance of a retrograde movement, following Jacob's retirement from his attempt to pierce the line on the other side of the village, showed themselves in numbers, as if about to attack. Captain Tucker, commanding the third squadron fo the Bengal Cavalry, which was close behind and to the left of the Grenadiers, urged Napier's second-in-command, Lt. Colonel Pattle, to allow his squadron to advance and drive the Balochis back.[12] The Colonel, a brave but somewaht unintelligent man, hesitated for sometime to give permission, not wishing to involve his regiment, that day commanded by Major Storey, deeply, without orders. But Tucker persisting that a forward movement was essential to restore the fight on that flank, and that Sir Charles would certainly order it if he were aware of the position, Pattle at length acquiesced, and the left (3rd) squadron advanced at the trot and began to force the Balochis back into the village. The Colonel himself rode towards the infantry line, and was met by Captain Thompson, coming hot foot

12. Captain Tucker's letter in Waddington's account.

with his message from the General. "How are you getting on?" asked Pattle: the Orderly Officer however ignored the query and communicated Sir Charles' orders.[13] It seems that Pattle who was rather deaf, could not hear what was said in the din of battle, or thought that Thompson might just as well deliver the order to the Officer Commanding the Regiment as himself and replied: "Tell Storey." Thompson rode on, and communicated the order to Major Storey, who at once put the second squadron, under Captain Garrett, in motion. On his way back he met Major MacPherson, Napier's Military Secretary, who had just delivered the orders to Pattle a second time. One or other of them, still unsatisfied that Pattle realised that the order comprehended the whole of the cavalry, rode up to Jacob, who was endeavouring to reform his men after his abortive attack on the left, still under fire from the village, and on ground which hardly permitted any formation, and shouted that he was wanted in front, and that the 9th had refused to charge" — or "would not charge" — so the words sounded.[14]

This was an exaggeration which did scant justice to the Bengal Light Cavalry: for their first squadron had now followed the third and second, and while Colonel Pattle, taking command of the two latter, gallantly attacked the enclosures of the village, the first, under Captain Wemyss, filed between the Grenadiers and the 12th N. I., and descending into the Fuleli began to disperse the Balochis on its further bank.

Jacob, advancing in column at the trot, passed one squadron of the 9th dismounted and firing pistols into the village, while the remainder were driving the Balochis in rear of it down the river bed to the left. Filing between the Cavalry and the left of the infantry line, Jacob led his men straight across the Fuleli, and deploying into line on the further bank, charged full on the Mir's camp half a mile behind it. The camp was strongly manned by foot soldiers, who with sword and shield stood their ground and fought sternly: but the vigour of the charge was irresistible, and in the subsequent melee the sabres and carbines of the Scinde Horse wrought havoc among the defenders: not till they were almost annihilated did resistance cease, leaving the camp, and Mir Nasir Khan's own standard, in the victors' hands.

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13. Captain Thomson's letter (Life, IV, p. 114-115)
14. Jacob's letter of 23rd February 1843.

The capture of the Mirs' camp was decisive. Not only did their horsemen, some 4,000 in number, who had been mustered in reserve under the Talpur Chiefs, quit the field without striking a blow; but the gallant tribesmen who had fought so devotedly in the river bed, not flinching under the ceaseless scourge of grape-shot and musketry for more than an hour, still thrusting themselves on the bayonets to strike home with their swords, began to look over their shoulders as the direful news spread along their line. They hesitated; and with a shout of triumph the British, followed by the Bombay Infantry, swept down into the river bed. Here the struggle still raged hand to hand; no quarter was given or asked; but the Balochis were giving ground and losing cohesion.

The 9th Bengal Cavalry succeeded in their task— one more appropriate for infantry and artillery— of clearing Sultan Shah and its enclosures, and completely cutting off the right of the Baloch line; but at no light cost to themselves: among their officers, Brevet Captain Cookson was killed, and four others wounded, of whom Captain Tucker was shot in five places; many of their troopers also fell. The first squadron, having chased the retreating Balochis far down the river bed to the left, now crossed over to join the Scinde Horse in the Mirs' camp: and just at that moment Major Waddington rode up to recall Jacob, who was rallying his men after dispersing the shattered garrison of the camp, to repel an alleged attack on the baggage in the rear. The trumpets sounded the "retire," but FitzGerald, second in command of the Scinde Horse, could not or would not hear them, continuing in pursuit of the Mirs' retreating horsemen with one squadron, hunting and cutting them down for several miles. The news of the baggage being attacked proved a false alarm, and now the whole British line joined in a final advance. Mirs Nasir Khan and Shadad Khan, who had lingered in the field with a few attendants, saw that the day was lost, and made for Hyderabad; but even now the Baloch swordsmen did not take to flight, but gathering in knots some hundreds strong retired slowly, glaring back on their foes, and daring them to come on. Their right wing, which, remained almost unscathed, also showed some disposition to re-occupy Sultan Shah and renew the struggle, and now at last some guns were trained on the village and enclosures to dislodge them. [15]Napier also ordered up the rest of his artillery,

15. Waddington's Account.

which crossed the Fuleli; and as the grape began to play on them once more, the Mirs' levies, broken as a military body, but their individual spirit unquelled, relinquished the struggle. The field of Miani was lost and won.

2. *Previous Accounts of the battle.*

The best known accounts of the battle of Miani in published books are, in the chronological order of their appearance, those by General William Napier, in "The Conquest of Scinde", by Mr. Napier Bruce, in 'Life of General Sir Charles Napier": by Mr. Rice Holmes, in "Four Famous Soldiers" and "Sir Charles Napier"; by Sir William Butler in "Sir Charles Napier": by Sir John Fortescue, in "History of the British Army," Vol. XII; in various Regimental Histories; and by Sir Patrick Cadell, in "History of the Bombay Army."

Of these, the first is prized for its picturesqueness and vigour of style, so characteristic of the author; but it is inaccurate in many respects. Mr. Napier Bruce practically reproduced it, but added some interesting details which he was given by Sir Montagu McMurdo. Rice Holmes, by making use of Major Waddington's account, of which more below, and consulting other survivors of the battle, drew a much truer picture of the battle, at the sacrifice of some of its romantic colouring; and his account has been the basis of those given by Sir John Fortescue and Sir Patrick Cadell in their works on the British and Bombay Armies. Rice Holmes notes, with some complacency, that when he read his final draft over to Sir Montagu McMurdo, the veteran declared that he was unable to detect a mistake. But no single officer present in the battle could see everything that was going on, and McMurdo was at first close to Sir Charles, and thereafter with his Regiment, constantly engaged, throughout the day. Rice Holmes, a most conscientious historian, also consulted other survivors, General Petrie of the Bombay Artillery, and General Phayre of the 25th Bombay N. I.; but other important sources of information, though available, do not seem to have been tapped by him. These will be mentioned below; and of course there may still be first-hand accounts of the battle, in ephemeral publications and scarce volumes of memoirs, or buried in family correspondence, which have so far escaped the notice of authors. But so far as I have been able to ascertain, the available sources on the British side which may be called original are as follows:

(a) Sir Charles Napier's despatch, with the subsidiary reports of officers commanding units engaged in the action.

(Reproduced in "The Conquest of Scinde" Vol. II., Appendix VI, and "Records of the Scinde Irregular Horse," Vol. I.)

(b) Major Waddington's account of the battle, and subsequent reply to the strictures upon it published by Sir W. Napier. (Royal Engineers professional Papers, Vol. IX, 1847, etc.)

(c) Numerous references by Sir Charles Napier in his Journal and letters, reproduced in "The Life and Opinions of General Sir Charles James Japier" by Sir. W. Napier, (Vol. II., pp. 320-330, 341, 345, 406, 417, 437-38, 442-3; Vol. III., pages 7, 16-17, 21, 30-31, 40, 80-82, 92, 189, 288, 314, 456; Vol. IV, 108-114.)

(d) Captain Henderson's report to the Adjutant, Madras Sappers and Miners, Bangalore, reproduced in Madras Artillery Records, Vol. VII, Miscellaneous.

(e) Captain John Jacob's account, in two private letters to his father dated 19th and 23rd February, 1843.

Of these, the first three were made use of by Rice Holmes, and his successors; and Sir Patrick Cadell drew my attention to No. (d). But Jacob's second letter, written less than a week after the battle, supplies much information that no other source gives; for instance, the details of his reconnaissance, of his attempt to turn the Baloch right flank and capture of the enemy's camp: and also gives a fresh view-point for the general picture — particularly the long interval between the arrival of the advance guard and the British attack, and the events on the left wing. He also seems to have obtained from his friend Hutt, of the Bombay Artillery, clearer details of the management of that Arm in the battle than figure in any other account. The original letter, in manuscript, was some years ago presented by the late Major General A. Le G. Jacob, C.B., C.M.G., C.I.E., C.B.E., D.S.O., to the officers of the Scinde Horse, of which Regiment he was Colonel. The Regiment also possesses a fine picture of their charge at Miani.

Jacob's plan of the battle, which is given in the "Records of the Scinde Irregular Horse," is also valuable in that it shows the position of the Mirs' guns, and the direction in which the four British guns fired; and it seems to be more correct than Major Wadington's in regard to the position of the Mirs' right wing; and the extent to which he (Jacob) had penetrated on the flank. I have, however, reproduced Waddington's plan to accompany this paper, as it gives more details of the battle-field as a whole.

Jacob's account is in fact indispensable for an accurate appreciation of the battle; and it was because he had not read it that Rice Holmes fell into the two real errors that mar his description: one, that Jacob "rode up" and told Sir Charles that the ground on the further side of the "grove" was impassable, when he only found this out after the battle had begun: and secondly, that it was when beginning their charge on the Mirs' camp that the men of the Scinde Horse suffered numerous falls, galloping across the nullahs; which in fact took place when Jacob was attempting to get through the impossible country on the further side of the village. Jacob's letter makes this latter point clear, though in his report the occasion of the contretemps might have been either.

3. *The battle as seen from the Mirs' side.*

And what of Miani from the Baloch point of view? British authors have been content to build up their narratives from purely British materials; and for the purpose of a biography of Sir Charles Napier, or the History of a Regiment or an Army, this is natural enough. We have brief anecdotes of Mr. Howell, the Mirs' gunner, and of Abdul (Abdullah?) Shah, who fought in the Fuleli bed with his men, and afterwards took service under Napier, in the latter's journal. Sir Richard Burton recorded the opinion of one Ibrahim Khan on the ineffectiveness of the Baluch artillery, and this finds a place— as a footnote— in Rice-Holmes' biography of Sir Charles. And that is all.

In truth, there is no very detailed or scientific description of the engagement itself from the Baloch side; the interest of their chronicles lies mainly in the narrative of the events immediately before and after the battle. Of the actual fighting, their accounts in prose are brief, and are significant mainly in the confirmation they afford of particular incidents observed by British officers. The

descriptions in verse are fuller, and of interest as recording the conduct of the various tribes engaged; but, as might be expected, are concerned chiefly with the deeds of particular warriors.

For these reasons I have not attempted to embody much of the available material from these sources in my own narrative of the battle: but they deserve to be put on record, if only from the fact that these accounts appear to have been almost completely ignored heretofore.

I have referred to the following:__

(a) Mir Nasir Khan's letter to the Court of Directors, dated Sasur, September 22nd, 1843.
(Sindh Blue book, suplementary, 1844: p. 128).

(b) Mir Yar Muhammad Khan's Frerenama," written in 1857, and embodied by Mirza Kalich Beg in his History of Sindh, Vol. II., Part II.

(c) Munshi Awatrai's Memoirs in recorded by Rai Saheb Udharam Chandumal and Mr. Parmanand Mewaram.

(d) Seth Naomal Hotchand's Memoirs, edited by Sir Evan James.

(e) Syed Ihsan Ali Shah's poem:

(f) The blind Manghanhar's poem on Miani.

جنگ نامو میر نصیر خان ۽ انگریز سرکار

(g) Notes of-conversations with Mir Ali Bakhsh Khan Talpur, and other descendants of men who fought in the battle on the Mir's side.

Of these, (a) (b) and (d) and are available in English. Mir Nasir Khan was the only one of the authors actually present in the battle, and his account is of the briefest. Its interest is chiefly in his mention of Jacob's reconnaissance, and his hopes that at the eleventh hour a collision might be averted.

Mir Yar Muhammad Khan, Nasir's younger brother, also mentions the reconnaissance. He gives the names of the commanders of the Baloch army as Ghulam Muhammad and Yakhtiar Lagharis, and Ghulam Shah and Jan Muhammad Talpurs, and declares that they declined to obey Nasir Khan's order that they should beat up Napier's quarters at Matiari on the 16th February. The ruling chiefs present in the battle on the next day were Mirs Nasir Khan, Shahdad Khan, and Husain Ali Khan of Hyderabad, and Mir Rustom Khan of Khairpur. Yar Muhammad gives the Baloch strength as 17,000 men and 11 guns.

Seth Naomal, who was in Karachi at the time of the battle, writes: "The Talpurs collecting their men advanced with an army of 30,000 strong to Miani, about four koss distant from Hyderabad, to check the progress of Sir Charles Napier, who had by that time arrived at Hala. Sir Charles commanded a force of 2,500 fighting men only, but they were all well-disciplined and well-trained, while the army of the Amirs was a crowd of hastily collected and ill-experienced Balochis under unskilful generals, unacquainted with the tactics of war. The battle of Miani followed, in which the army of the Talpurs was defeated, and it fled. The Baloochis fought well and used the sword bravely, but they were all untrained otherwise."

The Memoirs of Munshi Awatrai, the Minister of Mir Sobdar Khan, are of extraordinary interest for the brief period in which the tragedy was played out; as he was an important actor in it, though not present in the battle, which he describes as follows: — possibly from first hand information given by Hosh Muhammad Kambrani, a fellow-servant of Mir Sobdar: — "The Mirs' armies stationed themselves in the bed of the Fuleli canal where Napier Saheb launched an attack. This, however, proved abortive, as the bunds afforded full protection to the Balochis against the bullets. Napier Saheb saw that he would not prevail that way, and that his efforts were in vain, and ordered his Risaldar, Jacob, who had about 1,000 cavalry under his command, to charge the Balochis from the mouth of the canal. The Balochis at once faced them, but all of a sudden the sowars of Risaldar Jacob purposely beat a retreat. The Balochis cried "They run! they run!," and pursuing the sowars stood on the bund, where they were taken by surprise by the troops of Sir Charles Napier, who was only waiting for the chance. Many Balochis were killed, and others took to their heels."

This is interesting confirmation of Captain Tucker's statement, that the Balochis appeared about to launch an attack on seeing the confusion in the ranks of the 1st Grenadiers, which we know took place at about the same time as Jacob's retirement from his attempt to penetrate the Baloch position to the East of the village; and agrees with the British view that the result of the battle was doubtful— Jacob says, "worse than doubtful," — upto that moment.

Syed Ihsan Ali Shah, the author of the longer and better of the two poems, voices the Baloch opinion that they were winning up to the time when Jan Muhammad Khan Talpur fell: —

ڀرين حملہ ۾ هتائي ڪياءِ فرنگي دستہ جان
لڳو باران چوطرف ميدان ۾ ڪيا پهلوان
ٽلي وڃي لشڪر موڙي ڪمڪ ڪري لي جان لشان
فتح هئي اسلام جي لشڪر جي بيشڪ بي امان

I am indebted to Mir Ali Bakhsh Khan Talpur, of Tando Nur Muhammad Khan, for so much information explanatory of the poem, with additional details, that these remaining sources may be discussed together.

The Balochis usually call the battle of Miani, "Jan Muhammad's fight." His descendents, the Khanani Talpurs of Tando Jam, told me that he was shot in the neck by a pistol, though his death in the English accounts is ascribed to the swordsmanship of Montagu McMurdo. The chief who was then ordered to take over the general direction of the battle, Mir Ghulam Shah, of the Shahwani Talpurs of Tando Muhammad Khan, was the same who had torn up the treaty in the tumultuous durbar of the Baloch chiefs on the night of the 14th February. After his death, which soon followed that of Jan Muhammad, it does not appear from the poem that any other commander was appointed; but when the lashkar was giving way Mir Shahdad Khan is said to have urged his uncle, Mir Nasir Khan, to lead a final charge; and the courtly writer describes great deeds of arms thereafter performed by Shahdad Khan. But a cannon ball killed Suleiman Khizmatgar, who was in attendance on Mir Nasir Khan; and Mir Ali Bakhsh Khan informs me that both Nasir Khan and Shahdad Khan were struck by spent balls, which failed to penetrate the chain mail armour that they were wearing. Nasir Khan nevertheless lingered in the field till among the last, with

twenty horsemen: young Hussain Ali Khan quitted it about an hour earlier.

Of the minor branches of the Talpur House, the Chakranis Shahwanis, and Khananis were well represented, the former attending on Mir Rustom Khan: but the Bijaranis and Mahomedanis were absent, the latter saying afterwards that they had lost the way to the rendezvous. The Manikani Talpurs of Mirpur took no part.

Among the other Baloch tribes, the Nizamanis won the greatest renown; the Marris (Bagranis), Jamalis and Changs all fought bravely, the chief of the last named clan, Miro, being killed. Others who played their part well, were the Korais, Jatois, Gopangs, Chhalgiris, and Lasharis: but the Rinds, Lagharis, Thoras and Bhurgris are all considered to have been disgraced. The Lagharis and Thoras were the first to break the line: and Bahawal Khan, Sardar of the Rinds, a little later snatched the "Banchi," a sort of standard, from Sumar, one of the Mir's Khizmatgars, and fled, followed by Ahmed Khan Laghari. As to the Bhurgris, the blind "manghanhar" who sang of Miani says that they should be given a basket of fish: meaning that they acquitted themselves more like Muhanas than Balochis.

Of the non-Baloch tribes taking part, the small body of the Mirs' paid troops, the Khatian Pathans, fought stoutly, as did many of their khizmatgars, particularly Hosh Muhammad Kambrani. Several well-known Syeds and Pirs also fell honourably in the battle, for instance Fateh Muhammad Shah Lakhiari: and the Sumra and Khokhar tribes both did well.

4. *Anecdotes.*

The poets of Sindh were not alone in celebrating the courage of individual heroes of the fight in hyperbolic strains. Sir Charles Napier himself, though over sixty years of age when Miani was fought, was in some ways a boy at heart, and took the keenest pleasure in the deeds of arms of his officers and men. He had once written a Historical romance ("Harold": published after his death by his brother); and one suspects him to have been an enthusiastic reader of Sir Walter Scott.

Captain Keith Young, who arrived in Sindh in September 1843, wrote after dining at Napier's table "the conversation, during and after dinner, struck me to be a great deal too much about the late actions in Scinde, as to what this man and the other did, and how many Beloochees were cut down. I understand that the Scinde heroes are very much given to this kind of thing, and that Sir Charles is weak enough to be flattered with this 'Beloochee hunting,' as it is facetiously called here."

In Napier's journal, this propensity breaks out once or twice: in a letter to his brother William, the skull-splitting feats of Wilkinson, Nixon, McMurdo and FitzGerald are retailed with evident gusto, and from the hands of the magniloquent Historian received fresh colour, in "the Conquest of Scinde."

Of the officers of the Scinde Horse at Miani, William Napier wrote: "Captain Jacob, though slight of person, meeting a horseman at full gallop, passed his sword with such a foin through shield and body, that the hilt struck strongly against the former. But the exploits of Lieut. FitzGerald of the Scinde cavalry made all who saw him in the fight marvel. Three or four had fallen beneath his tempestuous hand, when a Balooch, crouching as their custom is beneath a shield, suddenly stepped up on the bridle hand and with a single stroke brought the horse down dead. FitzGerald's leg was entangled by the fall, and twice did the elated Balooch champion drive his keen blade at the prostrate warrior: each time the blow was parried, and then, clearing himself from the dead horse, the strong man rose. The barbarian, warned by the herculean form and countenance, instantly cast his broad shield over his head, which was likewise defended with a thickly rolled turban of many folds, but Fitz Gerald's sword in its descent went sheer through shield and turban and skull down to the teeth!"

We know from Richard Burton that there was endless joking among the officers in Sindh about these tales of the paladins; and FitzGerald himself is said to have disclaimed the stories of his exploits at Miani and Dubba.

Jacob, whose own anecdotes of swordsmanship at Miani — the cutting off of a mounted Baluchi's head at a single blow by one of his sowars, and the cutting in two of the lower jaw of another sowar's horse by a Baloch lying on the ground— were told years afterwards,

simply in support of his opinion that the curved sabre was far more effective in the hands of cavalry than the straight thrusting sword, has some amusing comments on Sir William's stories. "Those anecdotes of FitzGerald and myself at Meeanee are unmixed invention. FitzGerald's horse was never killed or wounded (unless you call a scratch in the skin about 2 inches long a wound), and never fell with him; the fact is that FitzGerald cannot ride a bit, in fact he is an awful stick on a horse, and fall off his saddle in the affray on the *top of a Belooche* on foot whom he was endeavouring to smite; they both rolled over together after which Fitz Gerald got up, remounted, and went on, not knowing to this day whether the man was hurt or not. Contrast this with the description in the General's *History*. As to my slaying a horseman as described it is about equally true. I *have* had lots of fights with Belooches on divers occasions, and did once slay a fellow who was cutting at me, something in the manner described, but the man was on foot— and it so happened that at the battle of Meeanee I never struck a blow; indeed I do not think it to be at all the duty of an officer to go about seeking for personal encounters, and think there is little merit shown by any amount of success in them. The value of an officer is shown by his skill and success in leading and directing the efforts of others, not in displaying his own personal prowess. But General Napier appears to suppose his whole merit to consist in cutting and thrusting."

But there was one individual officer's exploit at Miani, the merit and glory of which cannot be gainsaid, and that was the saving of Sir Charles Napier's life by Lieutenant Marston. Sir Charles bade his brother "Remember in your work to mention Lieut. Marston" and gave a vivid description of the incident. But this must have reached William Napier too late for inclusion in the book, in which his mention is of the briefest. As the account in the "Life and Opinions of Sir Charles James Napier" is available to all to read, I shall give here that by the late Mr. Charles Marston of Nasik, son of Lieut. (afterwards General) Marston, who kindly allowed me to take a copy from his unpublished memoir of his father's life, written for his nephews, grandsons of the hero.

After describing how Marston cut down one Baloch in single combat in front of the line not far from the General, he proceeds: "At the same moment he saw another burly fellow come over the bank and look at Sir Charles, who was alone, and made for him with

long strides— but grandfather said he never looked again. He ran and intercepted him just as he was going to cut at Sir Charles, and engaged him, and cut with all his might at his head; but he brought up his shield and guarded the blow; and then he cut at grandfather and he guarded it, and they exchanged one or two cuts: and grandfather then got over his guard and cut him hard on the shoulder, and he staggered and 'opened up,' and then he ran him through the heart and as he fell Sir Charles' remark was 'gallantly done!'; but another man had already come up from behind and had a clean sweep at grandfather's head— missed his head and the blow fell on his shoulder, but fortunately his epaulette saved him, for it deflected the sword blade, he turned round to find a friendly soldier who came out of the ranks of the 22nd Regiment pushing his bayonet through his assailant's side, and at the same time he ran his own sword through his heart, and as Sir Charles Napier said 'the sword and bayonet shared the honour'. The only damage done to your grandfather on this occasion was that the sword grazed his elbow and cut the cloth of his uniform coat, so he escaped lightly."

Mr. Marston records that after the battle, the henchman of the Baloch Chief whom he had killed "brought the fallen hero's sword to grandfather and laid it at his feet and said: 'You slew my Sardar, this is his sword' — it bears the words 'Sarkar Mir Muhammad Nasir Khan Talpur' in inlaid gold on the blade. The hilt is of inlaid gold leaf."

This is not the only sword, won that day by the gallant Marston, which is preserved by his descendants. He was presented with one of the regulation pattern by Sir Charles, with the following letter:

"My dear Marston,

Had you not stepped in front of me and engaged the Beloochee warrior who was about to charge me when I had too much to think of to engage in single combat I should probably have been cut down, and I think so able a swordsman as yourself ought to have a good weapon, one which, like your courage, will never fail in any trial. May you long cut and thrust with it, is the prayer of

Your affectionate and sincere friend,

C.J. Napier."

Nine years late, Marston's father wrote to Sir Charles, then in retirement in England, asking for his help to obtain promotion for his son. The following is an extract from the old General's reply, dated Oaklands, 23rd September, 1852:

"There is one claim, that your son has, and I should say that it is a strong one. He saw a huge Belooch with sword raised to fall on me, and attacking the man, received a blow on his shoulder; fortunately his grenadier wings saved him. The same blow falling on me would have probably killed me, as I had less protection, and but one hand. Now had I been slain in the middle of the battle, when victory had favoured neither side, I may say without disparagement to the second in command, that the result might have carried misfortune. Therefore I must say that in my opinion to have saved the life of his commander in the middle of a battle, or if not, that at all events to have prevented the commander from being disabled or unable to direct the troops, is a deed of gallantry which gives a man strong claims on the Government for the extra rank, a claim of no ordinary nature, and one to which this letter testifies....'

One of Sir Charles Napier's greatest claims to fame was his constant care of the interests of the Private soldier. Fortescue rightly says: "it was no mere accident that made Charles Napier the first general to mention the names of private soldiers in his despatches[16]". Those published after Miani by Lord Ellenborough, on 15th March 1843, reproducing reports from the officers commanding every unit in the little army, contain many instances of heroism which in these days would have been recognized by decorations. Among many Indian Officers and soldiers mentioned was Subadar Russall Singh of the 25th N. I., who shot three men, cut down one, and showed great zeal in encouraging and leading on his men: and Napier strongly endorsed Captain Hutt's recommendation of the unarmed drivers of his battery. We read also that Drummer Martin Delaney, of H. M's 22nd "shot, bayoneted, and captured the arms, of Meer Whullee Muhammad Khan, who was mounted, and directing the enemy in the hottest part of the engagement." This was probably a Khanani Talpur Sardar, brother of the Mirs' commander, Jan Muhammad. Sir Charles also wrote: "Three times when I thought the 22nd could not stand the furious rush of the swordsmen, Delaney sounded the Advance, and each time the line made a pace

16. History of the British Army, Vol. XII, p. 301.

or two nearer the enemy." Sir William Napier adds: "Here be it recollected that the fighting was hand to hand, that each advance was under a descending sword, and that to sound his bugle Delancy resigned all self defence."

A lighter touch is supplied by Colonel Pattle of the 9th Bengal Light Cavalry, who like his General was over sixty years of age at the time. Sir Charles writes: "He is as brave as a lion, and has all the quaint humour of Munchausen: — for example, he said to Mrs. McKenzie, Madam, at the battle of Meeanee I perpetrated such destruction that Sir C. Napier rode up and said: 'Colonel Pattle, deliver your sword! I cannot allow of such slaughter, even of an enemy.' I did deliver my sword, but continued to do as much execution with the scabbard[17]." The old humourist was afterwards immortalised by "Aliph Cheem" as "Colonel MacMurther;" but as a slight disguise of the prototype's identity, the scene of the incident was transferred in the poem to the Indian Mutiny.

Napier paid high tributes to the courage of the Baloch warriors. "A 22nd soldier, bounding forward, plunged his bayonet into the breast of a Beloochee; yet the firm warrior did not even reel: seizing the musket he writhed onwards, and with a blow swept his destroyer's life away: they fell dead together!" — "No quarter was given on either side, the wounded Beloochees fought as they lay on the ground" — "They cannot indeed escape when beaten, but as to running, devil a bit! — they lounge off, as at Meeanee, slowly and indifferent to your musquetry, though vollied into their backs at five yards' distance! They are most determined fatalists, and most terrible swordsmen; they cut through everything."

Sir Montagu McMurdo also wrote[18]: "The dexterity of the Belooch in parrying with his shield the point of the bayonet; the difficulty of thrusting it home when it did take effect, because of the ample folds of the cummerbund protecting the body almost to the armpits (in some instances the bayonets were twisted by the resistance) and lastly, the quick swinging cut of the sharp curved sword: these made the Belooch no mean antagonist for the single soldier; but in the melee of a charge, or even where two or three soldiers were together, the superior it of the bayonet was

17. Life, Vol. IV, p. 113
18. Bruce, p. 206.

unquestionable." Captain Henderson also complained that his men found it impossible to make the bayonet-knife on the end of their fusils penetrate through the clothes worn by the enemy.[19]

According to the late General Marston, "the 17th February 1843 was an abnormally hot day: so much so that many of the European soldiers died of sunstroke." They fought in their winter uniforms. He and the other officers wore forage caps, and he put two pocket handkerchiefs inside the crown of his cap to save himself from sunstroke." Sir Charles Napier wore a turban wound round his helmet. Twice during the battle the troops cheered him when he emerged through the thickest of the fight unharmed.

5. *Controversies about Miani.*

Controversy has raged over almost every act of Sir Charles Napier in Sindh, and the battle of Maini has not escaped. Sir William Napier wrote of the Sindh battles as reviving the glories of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt; while at the other end of the scale an author whom I have not been able to identify, but who was proabably present in the battle refers to Miani as "a dispersing of what was little better than a vast mob[20]."They had no discipline" he continued, "and bands of twenty men rushed out at a time with no order or method, only to imaple themselves on the bayonet, or to be swept away by grape." The writer could hardly have been Jacob, for even in the height of his bitter controversy with the Napiers, he did not, so far as I am aware, disparage the battles. At the time he wrote to his father,—"No one gave the Scinde warriors credit for so much pluck!" and speaks of Maini as "one of the severest battles on record in Eastern history" and "Altogether it was an honest hard stand up fight, and will not soon be forgotten on either side."

The Mirs' horsemen, indeed, were worse than ineffective: as has already been described, they fled, to the number of four thousand, without striking a blow; though they may have suffered somewhat from Whitlie's guns. The bolder of those who came mounted to the rendezvous picketted their mares in the river bed, and fought on foot.

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19. Madras Artillery records, Vol. 7.
20. Quoted in Sindh Gazetteer, 1907, p. 131. I.

The quality of the Talpur Artillery at Miani can be guaged from the description given of each piece in the Return of captured Ordnance[21]. Seven of the fifteen guns measured less than three feet in length, and the bore of five of these was under two inches. Moreover, it is noted that the whole of the carriages of these canon were in such a state as to render them useless. Four years before, when Kennedy had seen them in the Fort at Hyderabad, in the days of Howell's Greek predecessor, they had appeared as likely to harm the gunners as the enemy, when fired. Mir Ali Bakhsh Khan Talpur tells me that they were brought out piecemeal, slung on camels like "chakis," to Miani:and there rigged up in position as well as possible. Considering in addition Howell's unwillingness to fire at his countrymen, the Mirs' Artillery was more effective in the battle than could have been expected.

I am also informed by Mir Ali Bakhsh Khan that comparatively few of the tribesmen had any experience in firing matchlocks, which were given out to them from the Mir's armoury. They had been told to bring their own swords, the true Baloch weapon, and these they used effectively. But the same number of Afghans assembled at random would probably have done far more damage with their matchlocks.

Sir Patrick Cadell has well said, that the Balochis lacked almost every military virtue except the great one of undaunted courage: and we need not quarrel with Sir William Napier for classing Miani with the English triumphs in the Hundred Years War. The latter were fought on the defensive: but they, like Miani, were won by superior fire-power and discipline, over clumsy, unco-ordinated hosts of individually brave men. On the other hand, the Napiers were in error in instituting comparisons between the comparatively bloodless Sindh victories, and the "butcher's bill" of Gough's hard-won fights that followed in Gwalior and the Punjab. The Marathas and Sikhs brought into the field Euroepean trained infantry, powerful artillery, and most effective cavalry.

(a) *Numbers engaged.*__ Outram, in his "Conquest of Scinde— a commentary," refrained from criticising Napier's conduct of the battles, in which he was not present: but the progressive increase in the numbers of the Mirs' army at Miani in the brothers' writings, "a

21. Records of the Scinde Irregular Horse. Vol. I

la Falstaff," provoked him. In a letter to his friend Jacob written on May 2nd, 1845, he says: "By the way, how many of the countless host were actually engaged against our troops on that occasion? Cressy!!! Agincourt!!!" and again, on October 2nd, 1847, he speaks of "a little numerical superiority (for the nabble looking on from the other side of the Fullailee ought not to be counted, only the "Tuggaras' and few others who occupied the Fullailee, who alone fought)." This statement is somewhat wide of the mark: but so was Sir Charles' assertion, adopted by his brother in "the Conquest of Scinde," that his actual order of battle mustered only a seventeen hundred and eighty sabres and bayonets[22].

Taking the British troops first, Jacob, writing to his father only two days after the battle, says: "Our force was composed as follows, the strengths mentioned are very nearly those of the Corps actually in the fight, after deducting-baggage guards, etc:

2 Comp. foot artillery	12 guns.
H. M. 22nd Regt.	526
N. I.; 1st Grenadier	250
N. I.: 12th Regiment	487
N. I.: 25th Regt.	300
9th Bengal Cavalry	406
Scinde Irreg. Horse	483
Total	**2,452**

These figures he subsequently revised, in the notes on the plan drawn by FitzGerald from a survey by himself, which was published by Jas. Wyld, Charing Cross East, and figures in the Records of the Scinde Irregular Horse, Vol. I: —

C. Coy. Madras Sappers and Miners	46
H. M. 22nd Foot	606
1st Regt. Bombay N. I.	256
12th Regt. Bombay N. I.	540
25th Regt. Bombay N. I.	318
Bengal 9th Light Cavalry	385
Scinde Irregular Horse	395
Total:	2,546

22. Life Vol. III. p. 16 and conquest of Scinde, p. 308.

It should be mentioned that only ten of the British guns are shown in this plan, as drawn up in the first echelon position of the infantry line, in the following order from the right: — two nine-pounders; two twenty-four pounder howitzers; two nine-pounders; two six-pounders; and two twelve-pounder howitzers. There is nothing to show where the other two were, nor are the numbers of the artillery men included in the order of battle.

Waddington's estimates, admittedly approximate, give the number of bayonets in the line as 1350, to which had to be added Artillery and Sappers, about 150, and 700-800 Cavalry.

It is therefore evident that the strength of the British actually engaged could not have fallen below 2,200, and much more probably reached 2,500.

As to the Mirs' forces, Napier's despatch gives them as 22,000. Jacob's letter of 19th February, 1843, gives the figures 21, 000, and he adheres to this in his notes on his plan. Sir Charles declared that after the battle he obtained "Belooch returns of close upon twenty-six thousand warriors, signed by the Chiefs; each stating his force, and they all try to reduce their numbers to reduce the disgrace[23]." I do not think that such retunrs were even published, but Napier in a letter to Lord Ellenborough dated July 1st, 1843, gives the figure 25,862[24] Meanwhile "evidence received from the family of the Ameers" —perhaps the statement elicited by Captain Rathborne from Pir Budrudin, Sobdar Khan's confidential servant[25] — gave 35,000 as their numbers at Miani, which, Sir Charles triumphantly declares, is what the best of his spies reported at the time. Nevertheless, the figure given in his despatch— 22,000— may well be adopted as most likely to have been correct.

(b) *Losses on each side:*_ The casualties on the side of the British are, of course, exactly known. They amounted to 62 killed and 194 wounded, the total of 256 being a little more than one-tenth of the numbers actually in the fight. Six British officers were killed, and thirteen, with three Indian Officers, wounded. The losses in

23. Life III, p. 16.
24. Conquest," Vl. II. Appandix II, p. 432.
25. do. p. 511.

officers were heaviest in H.M's 22nd, the 9th Bengal Light Cavalty, and the 12th Bombay N.I. Among the other ranks, the 22nd had 23 killed and 49 wounded: the 9th Cavalry 3 killed and 29 wounded; the 12th, 12 killed and 45 wounded (it is interesting to note that Jacob, writing on the 23rd February, says: "The 12th suffered most severely of any, and indeed are said to have borne the brunt of the fight," and the 25th 16 killed and 28 wounde.d The Scinde Horse suffered 17 wounded; Jacob in the letter already quoted, says that several had subsequently died. The 9th Cavalry had nine horses killed and 35 wounded; the Scinde Horse 23 killed and 21 wounded. The difference between the losses of the two cavalry Regiments may be ascribed to the assault by the 9th dismounted on the village, and the slower speed, compared with Jacob's of their mounted attack.

The losses of the Mirs' host were fearfully severe. The names of nearly twenty chiefs who were killed occur in the poems mentioned above: and at least six of these were Talpurs. Others could probably be found in the "History of Alienations," among the Jagirdars' families. As to the rank and file of the tribesmen, Sir Charles Napier in his despatch says the casualties were generally supposed to be five thousand, but later, in response to further inquiries from his brother, he wrote "all the Beloochees said, and still maintain, that eight thousand were killed and wounded[26]." Sir William gives the figure as six thousand, in The Conquest of Scinde," and so does Jacob in the notes to his plan. The latter, writing on the 19th February, says that 1,400 of the Mirs' men were left dead on the field, and that they had about four times that number wounded. four days later, he writes: "We now know from the Ameers themselves that including those carried away and those who have died since of their wounds, not less then 5,000 were *killed*." Jacob says he actually counted two heaps of the Baloch dead in front of where the 22nd had fought, of 80 and 50 bodies. This agrees fairly well with the observations of "two officers, I think Pelly and FitzGerald" quoted by Sir Charles, who adduced the gruesome details to confute Major Waddington, whose estimates in his published memoir of the battle were much more modest. Wadington speaks of 400 dead in the bed of the Fuleli, "and probably as many more in different parts of the field and the shikargarh, killed by the artilery and cavalry," and adds that as quarter could not be given (the Balochis, not expecting it. defending themselves to the last, and making it impossible to spare

26. Life, III. p. 289.

them) the number of wounded did not probably much exceed the number of killed. He admits that the Balochi accounts made their loss much greater, and that it was possible that some bodies might have been removed during the night after the battle. Rice Holmes, Fortescue, and Cadell have inclined to Waddington's opinion, taking 2,000 as the probable figure of the Baloch casualties; and we may dismiss the subject with the hope that the lowest estimate may have been the truth.

It must be recorded, to the eternal credit of the Mirs' feudatories, that according to Mir Nasir Khan, ten thousand, including many survivors of Miani, rallied to him that very night[27]. and we know that many who had survived the ordeal joined Mir Sher Muhammad, to fight at Dubba.

(c) *Napier's orders to the Cavalry*: — In adhering, in my account of the battle, to Waddington's version of the order of events, which was the question most keenly disputed between him and Sir William Napier, I may be incorrect in ignoring what Rice Holmes calls "evidence which proves that the order was delivered to Pattle before Tucker addressed him[28]." I rely upon the letters of Tucker and Thompson, and the fact that Sir Charles himself declares that he sent three officers with the same order, Thompson being the first of the three.[29] It is clear that the effect of Thompson's communication of the order to Major Storey was to put the 9th Cavalry as a whole in motion: the squadron commanded by Captain Garrett, which is particularly mentioned, being the 2nd Squadron. It is equally clear from Captain Tucker's letter that he obtained Pattle's permission to advance with his own squadron— the 3rd— before any other part of the Regiment moved.

But be the facts as they may, we may agree with Waddington's remark: "I cannot understand how Sir C. Napier is robbed..... of 'all the merit of the conception of that brilliant movement'; for he gave the order in complete ignorance of its having been already partly carried into execution." He held that credit should be given to Tucker for seeing the crisis simultaneously with the General.

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27. Supplementary Blue Book, p. 128.
28. Rice Holmes, p. 164
29. Life, Vol. II, p. 115

In his despatch, Napier accorded the honour of having decided the battle to "the Cavalry of the left wing." Jacob, in his letter of the 23rd February, says, in reference to his own Regiment, "Our charge decided the battle: the General told me so on the ground." It does seem probable that the capture of the Mirs' camp and the dispersion of their numerous mounted reserves by the Scinde Horse were what finally shook the resolution of the Balochis in the Fuleli, rather than the penetration of their line, and consequently isolation of their right wing, by the advance of the Bengal Cavalry. But as it was the latter who began the movement, and were the first portion of the British Force to break into the Baloch position, it is but just that they should share the honour equally with the Scinde Horse.

The Napiers' later commendation of Fitz Gerald at the expense of Jacob is an instance of spite overcoming judgment: while Jacob, with the assistance of his Adjutant, Lieut. Russell, reformed the greater part of his Regiment after charging through the Mirs' camp, when his men were excited to the highest pitch, and so was ready when required to repel an expected attack on the rear guard, FitzGerald, not hearing the trumpets, went on in pursuit for several miles, until coming on a large body of Horse who had not been engaged he was obliged to retire. It was the difference between Cromwell and Prince Reupert over again.

(d) *Duration of the battle*: — Sir William Napier says that the struggle continued for four hours: and Sir John Fortescue, writing his account after the publication of Rice Holmes' work, adheres to this figure. But Waddington's calculations are irrefutable: considering the battle to have begun when the British Artillery opened fire, at about 11 a.m., it lasted for two and a half hours; the close fighting being from 12 noon to a little after 1 p.m. These times have been adopted by Sir Patrick Cadell[30]. But taking the time from when the Mirs' army opened fire on the Sindh Irregular Horse, on whom they inflicted casualties, four hours would be an under-estimate: for the British infantry line was formed at 9 a.m., and Jacob and his men were in position and under fire for at least an hour before that. But this would hardly amount to "three and a half hours of rugged battle."

30. History of the Bombay Army, p. 184.

(c) *Class Composition of H. M's 22nd Regiment.* — William Napier says: "This battalion..... was composed entirely of Irishmen," — a statement perhaps based on a remark of Sir Charles' in a letter to Captain John Kennedy written just before the battle: "I have one British Regiment; the 22nd. Magnificent Tipperary! I would not give 'the specimens' for a deal just now." The Napiers' predilection for Irish troops is well known, and Sir Patrick Cadell drew my attention to an instance of even greater perversion of the facts by Sir William, in Vol. VI of the Peninsular War.

Rice Holmes speaks more correctly of "the 22nd, half of whom were Irish." This Regiment having had a local connection with Chester since 1781, naturally attracted a comparatively large number of Irish recruits. With regard to their proportion in 1843, the only evidence I have is in the names of the men of the 22nd killed in the Sindh battles, inscribed on the monument at Miani. Out of 65, 25 names are prima facie Irish. Incidentally, the casualty returns of the two battles give only 46 dead, so 19 more must have died of wounds. I may add that it is evident from the names of the Indian soldiers on the monument that the great majority of the men of the Bombay Infantry Regiments were Marathas, with a few "Purbias," the Cavalrymen being "Purbias" and Muslims.

(6) *Criticisms of Napier's Conduct of the battle:*

Sir Charles Napier, in his final estimate of his battles[31], considered that he deserved credit for four things as a commander at Miani: —

"1st: The formation of my enormous baggage as a fortress, by which it defended itself and my rear at the same time.

2nd: Stopping the gap, and thus paralysing a great force of the enemy in the shikargah.

3rd: Making the Cavalry charge as they did.

4th: My formation in square after victory, as a precaution against a renewed attack with overpowering numbers, which was in

31. Life, Vol. Iv, p. 108.

the enemy's power and with the most terrible effect, as we were on a plain where his whole force could reach us."

The justice of this estimate will not be gain said. In addition, of course, was his inspiring personal leadership. It is not usually sound for a General to expose himself like a battalion commander, but there are times when it is not only desirable, but decisive, as Napoleon proved at the bridge of Lodi. It is unreasonable to speculate on what would have happened had Napier fallen, or whether the battle could have been won without him cheering on his men in front of the line. Napier himself declared: "In the battle I rallied the 22nd twice, and the 25th N.I. three times, when giving way under the terrible pressure; all the officers behaved well, but had I left the front one moment the day would have been lost: many know this. Had I not been there some other would have done the same, but being there, and having rallied them, to have gone to another point would have lost all[32]." It is curious that, considering what he and his officers owed to the troops' instinct of how to fight on the edge of the Fuleli, he should have added: "We ought to have gone slap over the bank, and had the 22nd been old soldiers they would have done so: but such young lads were amazed, they knew not what to do....." However, Ellenborough's opinion, given in a brief demi-official letter dated Agra, 5th March, 1843, which I believe has not been quoted before, has not been departed from by subsequent writers: —

"General :

The victory of Meeanee is thoroughly your own. Brave as the conduct of your officers and troops was, they would have failed wihtout your example, as well as your directing hand...."

But there is one aspect of Napier's management of his troops which cannot escape criticism: his failure to make due use of his artillery. After the preliminary cannonading, two-thirds of his guns took no part in the action until the resistance of the Balochis had been broken. This was noticed by Outram, as appears in two private letters to John Jacob: — "Show me why the artillery was of *no* service at Meanee...... and how they could have been brought into effective position......." (28th May 1846) and, referring to the British

32. Life. Vol. II, p. 327.

losses at Miani "which Sir Charles might have won without the loss of a man, scarcely, had he turned his guns down the Fullalie as he might have done by a little management, and then slipped his cavalry at them when cannonaded out of their position." (21st October, 1847). There is, of course, some exaggeration here. But Sir Charles himself felt some explanation was required; in a letter to Lord Ellenborough about a week after the battle, he wrote[33] "All the guns were on the right to meet a rush, if the Beloochees in the wood should overpower Tew; but all could not be brought into action; the camels turned restive, and some guns were dragged up by the soldiers, but there was not room for more than four. We had but three officers, instead of the ten which twelve guns ought to have: the Company will never give full effect to their troops unless more regimental officers are with their Corps."

Jacob in a rough sketch-plan enclosed with his letter to his father dated 23rd February shows the guns which could not be brought up to the front drawn up one behind the other along the shikargah wall. A few of them would have been of infinite service on the other flank, where Napier expected the 1st Grenadiers, with less than 250 bayonets, to storm the village and enclosures strongly occupied by the enemy. This was fit work for artillery preparation, and with four guns so employed the battle might certainly have been won sooner, and with less cost to the British infantry and cavalry. But even if Napier had wished to make such dispositions, the paucity of artillery officers was an obstacle: and once the three of them were with their four guns on the brink of the Fuleli, there was no time to think of improving a position which taxed all their energies and skill to maintain.

Napier fully recognized his debt to the Artillery and Sappers. Writing to Lord Ellenborough on September 15th, 1843, he says: "Let me now point out that there are, still unpromoted, to the great regret of everyone Captains Hutt and Henderson. The first, with great resolution, and difficulty got his guns on to a perilous little rise of ground at Meeanee, the Belooch mass being in a hollow a few yards off: Henderson with his Madras Sappers fought desperately to protect these guns while being so placed. These officers were conspicuously cool and courageous, and very terrible to the enemy, but Hutt was the most conspicuous from the great destruction he

33. Life, Vol. II. p. 341.

dealt. Captain Whitlie's two guns dealt with the enemy in front, but Hutt's guns swept the columns endeavouring to turn our right flank and Henderson's sappers broke down part of the park wall, under cover of which the Balooch columns were getting round us, and through that breach Hutt checked their progress."

Napier has also been criticised for walking into a trap at Miani. Sir John Fortescue, basing his account of the battle on that of Rice Holmes, goes further than that author in his assertions that Sir Charles completely mistook the real nature of the Baloch position[34]. He says "How far Napier was to blame for this it is not easy to say. It seems strange that no guide should have told him of the course of the Fuleli, and considering that he mistook the reserves of the Balochis for their front line, it is not quite clear why a staff officer or, two or even a line of skirmishers, should not have been pushed forward to examine the ground over which he purposed to advance." This last remark is made obviously in complete ignorance of the fact of Jacob's reconnaisance. But what information did Jacob send back? McMurdo says positively that Sir Charles "was not aware of the existence of the loop, nor even of the exact situation of the Fullaillee in front— till the line got close enough to see the heads of the enemy above the bank[35]" — and this was when the British line was committed to its final advance. The question therefore is, was Jacob at fault? From the letter to his father of February 23rd, 1843, one would infer that he had realised that the main position of the Balochis was in the bed of the Fuleli. But this may have been wisdom after the event. He says: 'I went myself to within about 200 yards of their line, upon which they fired matchlocks both from the village and shikargah, showing both to be occupied and their dispositions complete; having well observed their position and strength I sent a note back to the General about them."

It should be remembered that the Mirs' cannon were grouped at intervals along their front, and probably had men clustered round them: and though in cutting their firing-stop in the northern bank of the Fuleli the Balochis probably threw up the earth in front, this channel, being originally a natural branch of the Indus, had not the high spoil-banks which at once indicate the line of an artificial canal. Its line at this point is not, and doubtless was not at the time of the

34. History British Army. Vol. XII. p. 292.
35. Rice Holmes, pgs. 152-53.

battle, distinguishable from a few hundred yards' distance. We do not know the contents of Jacob's note: but he could not be blamed if he did not see that there was the deep bed of a canal across the front behind the guns. He certainly could not have made a closer reconnaissance. On the other hand, one must agree with Fortescue that it was strange that Napier's guides did not tell him of the bend in the Fuleli.

(7) *Topography of the field of Miani, a hundred years after the battle:*

It is a matter for satisfaction, considering that the battlefield of Miani is in the alluvial plain of Sindh, which has been developed so much by improvements in irrigation during the century of British Rule, that comparatively few topographical changes have taken place since the battle was fought, although no calculated efforts have been made, so far as I am aware, to preserve its character.

Two pillars have been erected to mark the right and left of the British attack. The shikargah on the right was happily retained as a Reserved Forest— Belo Kathri— and its boundary, a trench and raised bank, follows exactly the line of the shikargah wall. The pillar on this flank is, of course, where this meets the Fuleli, and the ground where the artillery were brought into position is still somewhat raised above the general level of the plain.

The loop of the canal in which the Balochis took up their position was eliminated by a chord nearly a mile to the south, as long ago as 1857, when the first improvements to the Fuleli were undertaken: its bed has been raised considerably by a century of cultivation, but it is still perfectly distinguishable.

The pillar on the left is on the high bank of the Nao Kamal Wah "karia," now superseded by the Barrage system, to the S.S.E. of the village. This must mark the point to which the 2nd squadron of the 9th Bengal Cavalry advanced down the Fuleli.

The actual infantry front along the Fuleli bank measures a mere 700 yards, between the village and the shikargah: a convenient length for the 1,400 bayonets which Napier brought into line.

The most conspicuous landmark is the tomb and mosque of Mir Jan Muhammad Khan Talpur, which his family erected "with a warlike vanity, not where he fell in the bottom of the Fullaillee but sixty yards beyond the British lines, where he never penetrated." The British monument is an obelisk "Erected by Major-General Sir C. J. Napier, G.C.B., and the Officers, N. C. Os, and soldiers of the British Army under his command, in memory of their comrades, who fell in the battles of the 17th February and 24th March 1843, fought with the Ameers of Scinde." It is a little to the West of the position where the British encamped after the battle, south of the Fuleli, and bears the names of all who fell in the two battles. Here those who were killed at Miani are buried.

The "shallow green bed of a watercourse" which bounded the field to the Eastward is still much as it must have been at the time of the battle. Till recently, the Nao Kamal Wah karia followed it. The jungle and broken ground beyond it are just as impracticable for cavalry now as then with the addition of a perennial Barrage canal, running from North to South to the East of the village: this roughly follows the line of one of the scarped channels surmounted by Jacob in his abortive attack.

Sultan Shah village is surrounded by some magnificent old Nim trees, which must have been in existence in 1843. In fact, the descendent of the owner of the village of those days, one Ali Shah, showed me a mark on the huge trunk of one of the trees which he declares was caused by a cannon ball— presumably when Napier turned part of his artillery on the village to clear it of the last of its defenders, at the end of the battle. There are two more small villages to the north of Sultan Shah, which is now known as Pahilwan Shah, which did not exist a century ago: but with the jungle round them they roughly coincide with the enclosures and jungle shown on Waddington's plan.

Nowadays there is a certain amount of cotton cultivation near the villages, and Jan Muhammad's tomb, and wheat is grown in the bed of the Fuleli: but the ground over which the British approached the scene of the struggle is exactly as described by Waddington: "a narrow-plain, dotted with low sandy hillocks and camel bushes." I have stood on what I believe to be the very sand hill from which Sir Charles Napier took his first survey of the Baloch position, at about

a mile's distance: and hard it is to make out much distinctly, looking into the sun, as one must at that time of day.

The shikargah on the right bank of the Fuleli, where it runs north to south parallel with the original line of advance, is now Miani Forest Reserve: and here, in the Hatri Forest bungalow, originally a hunting lodge of the Mirs, is preserved a plan of the battle, by Captain Henderson.

For those curious in matters of detail, I may add that the two canals which delayed the march of the main army from Matiari were the Sarfaraz Wah and the Gurk Wah, now both superseded by the Barrage Canals: and the village where Napier first formed up the Advance Guard, on hearing the sound of the Mirs' cannon— probably a signal to assemble and take up their positions— was Tando Syed Khan Laghari.

To the country people, the battle is known as Jan Muhammad's fight.

Concluding observations:

Most of the units engaged on the British side at Miani still remain in the Army Lists, and all added to the laurels won on that memorable day. The 22nd is better known as the Cheshire Regiment, while the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, beloved by Sir Charles, has become the 5th Battalion (Napier's 6th Rajputana Rifles. These two Regiments, which fought side by side in Sindh, have ever afterwards exchanged annual congratulatory messages on Miani day. The 12th Bombay Native Infantry, after various changes in designation, became the 5th Battalion 4th Bombay Grenadiers in 1922, but was disbanded next year. The 1st Grenadier N. I., are now the 1st Battalion, 4th Bombay Grenadiers. The present titles of the Scinde Irregular Horse and the Poona Auxiliary Horse are the 14th Prince of Wales' Own Scinde Horse, and the 17th Queen Victoria's Own Poona Horse. The 2nd Company 2nd Battalion Bombay Foot Artillery are represented by No. 6 Medium Battery, Royal Artillery, but the 3rd Company 3rd Battalion Golandaz was reduced, with similar units, in 1870. The Madras Sappers and Miners remain, as Queen Victoria's own Madras Sappers and Miners.

The honours accorded to Sir Charles Napier and the officers who fought at Miani also recognized their conduct at the battle of

Dubba, or Hyderabad, and will be more appropriately noticed after giving an account of that battle. So far as the Corps are concerned, the Governor General's despatch of 5th March 1843 authorises the bearing on their appointments, standards, and colours, of the battle honour "Hyderabad, 1843" (subsequently changed to "Meeanee") by all units except the 1st Grenadiers. This omission may have been due to some unofficial letter from Sir Charles: in his despatch he merely said: "The Grenadiers under Major Clibborn, owing to a misconception of orders, were but slightly engaged." The omission seems unjust, considering that the Poona Horse, who received the Honour, were not engaged at all, while the Grenadiers suffered five casualties. In the same order, Ellenborough directed that the Regiment of Scinde Horse on its existing establishment, should be permanently attached to the Army of Bombay.

The same Corps received further honours specifically for Miani, when in separate orders, dated 8th march and 13th March respectively, Ellenborough appointed John Jacob as his Honourary Aide-de-Camp, and requested Napier to present to the Regiment the standard they had taken from the enemy.

This is not the place to consider Miani in its relationship to Napier's diplomacy and Ellenborough's policy. Its glory is the military glory of the General who dared huge odds, and of the troops who met them with unbending resolution. And though defeated, the Baloch Sardars and their men partake in the glory of courage and endurance. More than this:__ Whoever Napier's correspondent was who wrote "I wish you had not been opposed to men fighting for their independence," was right; though Napier declared that he fought for the liberties of the people, and that even the Balochis were glad to get a good master for a bad one. They found, in the event, that their Jagirs were secured for them: but it was not only to preserve their lands that they drew the sword. They fought for the honour of their Race; to right the grievous wrongs inflicted on the aged Mir Rustom Khan; to break the galling yoke of foreign domination. When the call came, at the eleventh hour, they flocked to their Rulers' standards from far and near: and the loyalty and devotion that evoked such a response is no more to be belittled than the unflinching valour with which they vainly fought. Requiescant omnes in Pace!

Darang, 12th December 1942.

The Lion's Last Roar

By A. B. Advani. M.A. L.L.B

(Read before The Sindh Historical Society on 25-2-43).

If a straight line were to be drawn from Hyderabad (Sindh) in eastern direction for a distance of forty miles, it will end in a town called Mirpur Khas. In the beginning of last century, this was the capital town of the Mirpur branch of Talpur Mirs and had been founded by Mir Ali Murad, son of Mir Thara Khan in 1806.[1] In 1783, when the Talpur Chiefs wrested power from the Kalhoras, Mir Fateh Ali Khan Talpur had divided Sindh in three parts and given Mirpur and some other places to the east of Hyderabad to Mir Thara Khan who ruled over his territory up to 1829. After his death, he was succeeded by his son Mir Ali Murad. Mir Ali Murad ruled for seven years and on his death in 1836, his son Mir Sher Muhammad Khan, popularly known as the "Lion," ascended the "gadi."[2] The British Government had concluded a separate treaty with Mir Sher Muhammad Khan in June 1841, on the latter promising to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 50,000 to the British Government.[3] Mir Sher Muhammad Khan, in the beginning had kept aloof from the political intrigues in which the Talpur Mirs of upper and Lower Sindh had got entangled, but not for long. When the war with the Mirs of Upper and Lower Sindh had become unavoidable in the beginning of 1843, Mir Sher Muhammad secretly started collecting a large force of Baloches and on 17th February 1843, when the Battle of Meeani took place, he was only six miles away from the battle-field with 10,000 soldiers.[4] With the defeat of the Talpur Mirs of Hyderabad, on 17th February, 1843, the Baloch mercenaries rallied round the standard of Mir Sher Muhammad, who engaged the British troops under the command of Sir Charles Napier on 24th March, 1843, in the famous Battle of Hyderabad. Four hours of sharp fighting decided the battle in favour of the

1. Ross, David, *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh*, p. 33.
2. *Alienations in Sindh*, Vol. II, pages 120 and [illegible]7.
3. *Ibid*, p. 150.
4. Napier, Sir Willaim, [illegible] page 324.

British troops. Mir Sher Muhammad however escaped successfully to Mirpur and from Mirpur to the desert fort of Umer Kot. Some troops under the command of Major Woodburn marched on the Umer Kot and took possession of it without any trouble, but the wily Lion was no longer there. Sir Charles Napier was by now getting worried about Mir Sher Muhammad Khan, who was successfully playing his hide-and-seek game with the General. The General wanted the surrender of the Lion for obvious reasons. In his observations to Captain John Jacob, dated 4th June, 1843, Sir Charles Napier wrote thus: —

"I suspect the movement of troops will produce either a *surrender* or a *dispersion*. If a surrender, the job is done; if a dispersion, we shall be bothered."[5]

For this purpose Chamberlain's Horse were directed to move from Rohri and intercept Mir Sher Muhammad, should the latter attempt to escape to the Punjab. Thus any attempt on the part of Mir Sher Muhammad Khan to break forth to the north was well provided against.[6] At the same time Colonel Roberts was ordered to move down the right bank of the Indus from Sukkur to Sehwan, with 1,500 men and a battery, and to seize all the boats on the river as he descended. This move was ordered with two objects. Firstly to prevent Mir Sher Muhammad Khan from crossing the right bank, and secondly to prevent the western hill tribes from going over to join him on the left bank. Captain John Jacob was at Mirpur with 400 infantry, 2 guns and Scinde Irregular Horse.[7] Thus the Lion found himself hemmed in on all sides. On 9th June 1843, Captain John Jacob received orders from Sir Charles Napier to advance. In his letter to Jacob, Sir Charles Napier wrote: =

"I think you may as well advance as soon after this reaches you as you can, say tomorrow night.

We have a story that the Ameer is at Hala; if so, he is dodging out of Robert's reach, and yet cannot make up his mind to quit the river.

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5. *Record Book of the Scinde Irregular Horse*, Vol. I., page 36.
6. Napier, Sir William, *The Conquest of Scinde* page 419.
7. *Ibid.*, page 420 and ff

Now, he must have one of the two following motives for this, because it is the worst position he can take: —

1st. — His family are on the opposite bank and he wants to get to them.

2nd. — He has not water enough in the desert.

If he wants to join his family he will escape alone and his people disperse. If he is pushed for water, he has no choice, and must remain between Robert's column, yours and mine, and will inevitably be destroyed, as far as military calculation goes. .... I would try to force him to the desert, but stronger reasons make me prefer pushing him towards the river; if he gets into the desert he may perish for want of water, or disperse and assemble in our rear, or any other convenient place; but if I get him down on the river, I shove him into it, and finish the war at a blow! I do not want to drown him if he and his people surrender, but I would rather drown them all than let them escape, which would produce a much greater loss of life in the long run. Between you and Roberts, Sher Muhammad had a good chance of being picked up."[8]

On receipt of this letter Jacob with the force under his command, marched from Mirpur, reaching Shahdadpur on the 13th June, 1843. At this place Jacob received information that Mir Sher Muhammad Khan had marched from Hala to a small fort at a distance of 16 or 17 miles to the south-east of Hala. Late in the night, a servant of Mir Sher Muhammad Khan came to Jacob's camp and informed him that a force of 8,000 or 10,000 Baloches would attack him soon. Mir Sher Muhammad Khan had intended to surprise Jacob's detachment by attacking it before daylight. But Jacob was on guard, and left his camp on the night of the 13th June, 1843, to meet the Lion. At 3 o'clock in the morning of the 14th June, the British picquest found the enemy coming on in large numbers. The advance however was very slow, which enabled Jacob to send several parties to reconnoitre. Leaving a troop and company to protect the camp, Jacob went forward with the rest of his force. The Baloches had formed on the bank of a *nullah* in considerable strength, both horse and foot. The number of Baloches present for this battle was about 4,000, and the Lion had brought 3 guns. As

[8] *Record Book of the Scinde Irregular Horse*, Vol. I., pages 35-37.

soon as Jacob advanced the Baloches opened their guns on his force. The ground in front of Jacob's force was a rugged one, intersected with deep ravines. Jacob formed his line and ordered the guns to be fired. It was an extremely tame show, unlike the one at Meeani where no quarter was sought and none given. The Baloches moved off and on the Scinde Horse advancing they broke and fled in every direction, leaving behind their guns and standards. It was not a retreat but a route. The country being covered with jungle and sand dunes, and intersected with deep ditches full of water, effective pursuit of the Baloches was not possible. In the general disorder Mir Sher Muhammad fled with ten horsemen and Jacob had the consolation that although he had been unsuccessful in his attempt to capture the Lion, he had succeeded in preventing his flight to the desert. All the 3 brass guns, mainly 3" bore, complete with limber and ammunition were captured in this action.[9] Mir Sher Muhammad fled and crossing the Inuds, escaped in the mountains, taking refuge with the hill tribes there.[10] After this he became a fugitive and was no longer a power to reckon with. The Sindh Campaign ended with the Lion's last stand at Shahdadpur. The Lion roared, but it was such a feeble roar, that one is filled with pity for him, for the Lion was a brave foe and even Sir Charles Napier acknowledged this he when wrote to Jacob on 4th June, 1843: — "I like this fellow, for his resolute resistance."[11]

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9. Record Book of the Scinde Irregular Horse Vol. I, pages 38-39.
10. Napier, Sir William, *The Conquest of Scinde*, pages 440-41.
11. *Record Book of the Scinde Irregular Horse*, Vol. I, page 35.

The 50th Anniversary of Meanee

The conquest of Sind was effected by Sir Charles Napier just half-a-century ago, and on the 17th instant, the fiftieth anniversary of Meanee, the members of the Sind Club entertained at a banquet Major-General Marston, the only surviving officer of Sir Charles Napier's small army supposed to be now residing in India. Between sixty and seventy guests assembled to meet the veteran, and had not Colonel Sartorius, C.B., and the Karachi Eleven been starting for Lahore that night to play Lord Hawke's team, and H. E. Sir George Greaves, on tour in Sind, had not been detained by accidents both by river and road, the Assembly would have been still larger and more brilliant, the more so as many district officers were kept prisoners in their camps by rain having made the roads impassable. The chair was taken by Brigadier-General Boyce Combe, C.B., Chairman of the Club Committee, on whose right sat the guest of the evening and on his left the Commissioner-in-Sind, who had come a long distance expressly for the occasion. The Services mustered in great force, all in uniform, and the Civil community, with the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. James Currie, at their head, was no less eager to do honour to their gallant fellow-citizen. At the end of the great hall was the word MEANEE (spelt according to ancient not Hunterian spelling) in letters of gold, surrounded by a wreath of laurel, and below it were draped the colours of the 1st Belooch Battalion, guarded by the stalwart Beloochi. The Band of the Regiment played during dinner. Under any circumstances, a community of Britons might be expected to show some mark of respect to an old soldier on the 50th anniversary of a great battle in which he took part, but when that soldier had by his own personal prowess contributed materially to the battle becoming a victory — that victory in its turn resulting in the annexation to the Empire of a fine province — and when he had for 30 years been conspicuous in reducing that province to law and order and eventually after a brief further space of military duty had returned there to reside permanently, an entertainment was felt to be more than usually appropriate. In France a public meeting would have been held, addresses read, and the Governor or Commissioner would have kissed him publicly on both cheeks, but Englishmen adhere to the

time-honoured, if less romantic, institution of a feast. The proceedings were most enthusiastic throughout, every allusion to Major-General Marston being loudly applauded. The most striking incident was the General's own speech. No one present, writes one who was present, will ever forget the sight of the greyhaired warrior, his powerful frame as erect as a boy's, his presence commanding, and his eyes as keen as hawk's, but with a cheery kindliness marked in every line of his face, telling for the benefit of the hearers, few of whom were born while he was already fighting for his country, in simple but stirring words the account of the memorable fight. Seldom, indeed, does it fall to the lot of any one to hear a brilliant episode of history rehearsed modestly and graphically by one of the principal actors in it fifty years before. The audience hung breathlessly on the speaker's lips, occasionally breaking out into an irresponsible cheer, and at the end the enthusiasm of the audience was unbounded. A synopsis of Major-General Marston's service may be given here. He joined the army on the 18th February, 1839, and was posted to the 25th Bombay Light Infantry. The same year he was sent on field service against the Raja of Satara, and in 1841 took part in the first Afghan War. He accompanied Sir Richard England's force to the relief of Kandahar and was present at the second engagement at Hykalzye in 1842. At Meanee in 1843 he saved Sir Charles Napier's life and was mentioned in despatches. He was also present at the battle of Hyderabad and the taking of Umerkot. After the annexation of Sind, although a lieutenant of only 4 years' service, he was appointed by Sir Charles Napier to raise the Karachi District Police, and later in 1848, was made commandant of all the Police in Sind, that force which was the model of all other forces of the kind in India. In 1855 he received the thanks of Government and of the Court of Directors for personal gallantry in an encounter with Afghan robbers. In 1857 he was made a Brevet-Major for distinguished service. After the mutiny he was again thanked by Government for the conspicuous services rendered by the Sind Police in suppressing mutinous outbreak at Karachi, Hyderabad and Shikarpur, at which places the police pursued, arrested, and brought to execution the sepoy-mutineers. In 1864 his appointment was abolished on re-organisation, and at his own request he was appointed, without loss of pay, to his original post of Superintendent of Karachi Police. Granted in 1869 a special extension of 3 years, in 1872 he reverted to military employ, and the Commander-in-Chief posted him to the

command of the 13th N. I. Ultimately, at the conclusion of 37 years service he accepted a bonus and retired.

It is a singular comment on the manner in which England rewards the bravery of her sons, as observed by General Combe, amidst the showers of stars and ribbons distributed twice a year, or after a campaign, none should have reached him yet, and the trophies he has to show are confined to the medal and clasp for the Sind War, and the sword presented by Sir Charles Napier for saving his life. In his prime he was a man of powerful physique, a renowned horseman, and a splended shot. Even if he no longer scales the mountains in search of ibex with the same light foot as of yore, he is still heart and soul in sympathy with all manly sports, and at the Karachi Meetings, where he always fills the post of Judge, no figure is better known or more welcome.

To return to the dinner— we will not call it a banquet— Brigadier-General Combe, after proposing the health of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress and observing that though the toast was one that had been heard many years even before Meanee, and would, all present hoped, be drunk for very many years to come, rose amid loud cheers to propose the toast of the evening. In an appreciative speech he referred to the manner in which Major-General then Lieutenant, Marston saved Sir Charles, and quoted from the latter's letters to his brother, to Lord Ellenborough and to Lieutenant Marston himself, to show how grateful Sir Charles was for the same. At the end there was loud and long-continued. cheering, which was renewed when General Marston rose to reply. He described in simple words the manner in which the battle was won— the march, the reconnoitre, the forming of line, the defence, the attack, and his own part in the victory.

As soon as the cheers which followed had subsided General Combe proposed the memory of those who fell at Meanee, which was drunk in solemn silence.

Mr. Currie then proposed the health of the visitors, alluding in humourous terms to the causes which had kept some away, and especially expressing regret that the son of General Young-husband, who was on the Staff at the battle, could not attend from Sukkur. He coupled the toast with the name of the Commissioner-in-Sind, who had come all the way from Sibito to attend that evening. The

toast was well received, and in reply Mr. James spoke of the importance of the occasion and mentioned that he had received a telegram from the Governor of Bombay, wishing General Marston long life. His speech was very long but very interesting. It was a historical review of the war with the Amirs. Mr. James also spoke of the great results of the conquest, the foresight of Sir Charles Napier in suggesting the making of a mole from Bunder to Kiamari as a first step towards the "making of Karachi;" the water works and other works of utility which have since been carried out though very tardily. Finally he referred to the pacification of the province in which General Marston played a very important part by organising a very efficient Police force. Allusion was also made to his services in pursuing and capturing the mutinous sepoys at Karachi during the great Indian mutiny.

The speaking over, two or three vocalists entertained the company with songs, and the proceedings concluded with singing Auld Lang Syne, Rule Brittania, and God Save the Queen.

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N. M. Billimoria

The Indian Navy —
A Review of its Activities in Sindh and on the Adjacent Coasts 1615-1863

By Commander R. D. Merriman, R.I.N.

Read before the Sindh Historical Society on 26-11-1942

The approaching centenary of the Battle of Meanee, Feb. 17th, 1843, which virtually settled the conquest of Sindh, suggests a review of the part played by the H.E.I.C.'s Navy not only on that occasion, but over a period of more than 200 years beforehand.

It is perhaps inevitable in India, where the Military element so greatly outnumbers the Naval, the work of the latter, performed as so much of it must needs be, out of sight of the landsman, tends to be unnoticed or forgotten.

This is the more to be regretted when the ultimate dependence of India on Sea Power is realised. The British Empire in India was founded and maintained as the result of supremacy at sea and it is hardly too much to say that the Conquest of Sindh depended very largely on this supremacy, for, neither could the troops have been safely transported from Bombay to the scene of operations nor maintained in the field, had not the navy (both Royal and Company's) provided ships and guaranteed the safety of the sea communications.

Before a landing on an enemy coast can be achieved, the area must be surveyed, and before the survey can be effectively carried out, the neighbouring waters must be cleared of the enemy. It will therefore be convenient for purposes of this review, to consider Naval activities in Sindh under these three headings.

I. Suppression of Piracy.

From the earliest days of the British connection with India, one of the princiapl pre-occupations of the H. E. I. C. was the protection

of the sea-borne trade against pirates. From the early 17th to the first quarter of the 19th century the menace recurrs again and again, being perhaps at its worst in the late 17th and the early 18th centuries, when the depredations of European renegades and freebooters such as Kidd, Teach and Avery added to that of the local variety rendered peaceful trade in Indian waters well-nigh impossible.

The ships of the Royal Navy were rarely seen in these waters in those early days, and it was to counter the menace of piracy that the H. E. I. C. almost as soon as the first Factory was established at Surat, formed a small squadron of country craft, armed them and manned them with crews, partly British and partly Indian, and set them to escort the coastwise traffic in the Cutch, Sindh and Cambay areas.[1]

With the growth of the H. E. I. C. and its rapidly expanding sphere of influence came the need for better and more numerous naval vessels, until, at the time of its disbandment in 1863 the Service which had begun in 1615 with 10 grabs and gallivats, showed a total strength of some 50 to 60 vessels ranging from Frigates to River gunboats. Its Flag had been seen from the Persian Gulf to China, its ships had been engaged in action with the Dutch, Portuguese and French, and with Arab, Sanganian and Malabar Pirates and the marine surveys carried out by its officers are still commemorated on almost every chart in Indian Waters.

Operations against pirates frequently took the form of encounters between a single ship of the H. C. and a swarm of hostile country craft, for the pirates seldom attacked unless they were in overwhelming majority. Low, in his "History of the Indian Navy" recounts many such actions. One, which occurred in the vicinity of the Gulf of Cutch in 1797 may suitably be referred to here.

A British trading vessel had been seized by the Hakim of Sonmeanee who refused to deliver it up. A small vessel of the H. C.'s Marine called the *Vigilant* mounting 6 guns and commanded by Lieut. Hayes, I. N. was therefore sent up from Bombay with orders to effect her release.

On the way, while crossing the entrance to the Gulf of Cutch, the *Vigilant* was attacked by four large and heavily manned sail of

Sanganian Pirates. Adopting their usual tactics, the pirates laid their craft alongside the *Vigilant* two on each side, and attempted to board, but without success, for, after a spirited resistance which lasted for three hours the pirates cut their craft free and made off considerably the worst for their reception.

The strength of the H. C's Navy, however, was seldom commensurate with its needs. No sooner had an immediate threat been uccessfully dealt with, than a cold fit of economy resulted in a reduction off the Naval Establishment, with the inevitable result that the danger cropped up again.

This proved to be the case in 1811, when the Pirates at Beyt again became troublesome, necessitating a combined Naval and Military expedition to Kathyawar[1].

The Naval Squadron consisted of:_

H. C.'s Schooner *Zephyr*, Lieut. Blast, 8 guns.
H. C.'s Schooner *Sylph*, Lieut. Hardy, 8 guns.
H. C.'s Pattamar *Bhowany*, Midshipman Grant, 6 twelve-pounders, and 4 other armed Pattamars, each carying 6 twelve-pounders.

While the military forces were employed at Beyt, the Naval Squadron carried out a highly successful operation at Lakhpat Creek, on the North side of the Gulf of Cutch, near Mandvi.

The pirates had taken up a strong position at the Fort of Nuranseer, under the guns of which they had ranged their craft. It was decided to attempt a "cutting out" operation, which was brilliantly carried out. The ships were stationed at the entrance to the Khori Creek (up which the pirates had withdrawn) to prevent the enemy escaping, and the boats of the squadron, with Midshipman Grant in command, rowed up the Creek and, after a determined dash under heavy fire from the pirate craft and the Fort, boarded and captured the three baghallas which were sheltering there. For this exploit, Midshipman Grant received the thanks of the Government of Bombay.

The campaign was brought to an end by an attack on the Fort of Navanagar by the Military, assisted by the Naval Forces[1].

It is impossible to mention piracy and the measures taken to suppress it in Sindh, Cutch and Kathyawar without noticing the activities of the Joasmis. This Arb tribe had its stronghold at Ras-al-Khayma in the Persian Gulf, and from about 1797 until 1820 when it took a combined Naval and Military Force of considerable strength finally to crush it, remained, a thorn in the flesh of the trading community.

The Joasmi Fleet in the year 1809 was estimated to consist of some 63 large vessels and *eight hundred and thirteen* of smaller size; the whole manned by 19,000 men[1].

The entire trade route from Básra to Bombay was harassed by these ruthless marauders, and harmless merchantmen on the Coasts of Sindh and Cutch were frequent sufferers at their hands.

To quote Low.... "What may be described as a reign of terror ensued upon the sea, and merchant vessels feared to leave any port wihtout the escort of a ship of war, for the pirates had become so bloodthirsty from long immunity that, not satisfied with plundering ships, they massacred the crews. A shocking instance of this occurred on the Okhamandel Coast, when some piratical craft boarded a pilgrim vessel having eighty souls on board, of whom forty were ruthlessly butchered, and the remainder, after being hacked about with a wanton barbarity, were permitted, with the exception of some women, to sink in the ship, which was scuttled; however, the poor wretches managed to keep the craft afloat and navigated her into Beyt, where they were duly cared for by the English Agent, but few of the survivors recovered from their wounds."

The pirates by no means had things all their own way, and shortly after the incident recounted above, they attempted to cut off a large baghala laden with treasure which was under convoy of the H. C.'s cruiser *Aurora* of guns, but were beaten off and the convoy saved.

The measures taken by the H. C. to suppress the Joasmi, were intermittant and the force employed inadequate, so that a great deal of individual gallantry was displayed and innumerable single ship actions were fought to little permanent effect, until the Supreme Government could be brought to the point of countenancing the

expense necessary for the provision of a full scale expeditionary force which finally and for ever stamped out the pirates' haunt at Ras-al-Khayma in 1820. The story of this operation is well worth reading for its own sake as evidencing the strength of the pirate stronghold, and the ferocity with which it was defended, but is outside the scope of this paper.

There is one more episode affecting the area in which we are interested to be mentioned before we conclude this section on the suppression of piracy.

In the year 1825, owing to dissentions among the Amirs at Hyderabad, large bands of marauders from Sindh proper, were believed to have received direct encouragement from Hyderabad to invade Cutch. A horde of about 3,000 including Sindhis, Meeanas, Kholis and others, crossed the Rann and threatened Bhuj[1]. They sacked Anjar, but were eventually beaten off with the loss of their Chief, Tahar Lunai. It was necessary to reinforce our troops at Bhuj and also to provide a naval force to prevent a recrudescence of piracy among the seafaring populace on the neighbouring coast. The Cutch Field Force, consisting of 7,000 men under Brigadier M. Napier of H. M.'s 6th Foot was therefore landed at Mandvi from 4 transports, under the guns of the H. C.'s sloop-of-war *Amherst* 18 guns, and the H. C.'s brig. *Palinurus*, 8 guns. This timely demonstration had the effect of restoring order and a clash was avoided[1].

II. The Maritime Survey

With the expansion of British influence in Eastern waters came the need for more accurate charting of the coastline and the approaches thereto, the examination of new harbours and the detailed survey which is necessary before these can be developed for the use of shipping.

Throughout its long history and many vicissitudes the Survey Branch of the I. N. is the one activity which has continued unbroken from 1772 (when Lieuts. Blair and McClure were sent, with two ships to survey the Andaman Islands) to the present day. The achievements of the Surveying Branch are commemorated in the title plates of many Admiralty charts used by mariners today and

range from Suez to New Zealand and from the Persian Gulf to the South Coast of China.

The earliest reference I have been able to find in connection with this neighbourhood is the survey of Karachi Harbour and the Mekran Coast carried out by Lieut. S. B. Haines, I.N., and the officers of the H. C.'s sloop *Benares*, 14 guns, in the season 1828-29. Though satisfactory results were achieved along the coast line, the survey of the Harbour of Karachi was a hurried and imperfect affair, owing to the hostillity shown by the local authorities, who, possibly seeing in these activities the prelude to annexation did all they could to obstruct Haines[1].

During the seasons of 1836, 1837, and 1838, however, the survey of the Mouths of the Indus, especially of the Khydywari and Hajamri Branches and of the main river itself were thoroughly carried out by Lieuts. Wood, Carless, Kempthorne, Grieve, Whitburn and others.

In 1836 Wood was appointed an assistant to the commercial mission of Sir Alexander Burns (then Capt. Burns) to Cabul. One of the objects of the mission was to examine and report on the state of the Indus and the prospects of opening it to navigation from its mouth to Attock. Wood not only carried out a careful survey of the River, but continued far beyond Attock on an adventurous and interesting journey to the Sources of the Oxus. After suffering much hardship and intense cold he achieved the ascent of the Bam-i-Dunniah, a 15,000 foot peak on the Pamir Plateau, on 19th February, 1838, whence he saw the frozen lake from the end of which issues the infant Oxus. Wood named this Lake Victoria in honour of the young Sovereign who had succeeded to the Throne in the preceding year[6].

It may be of interest here to note that Wood's connection with Sindh lasted for many years. He appears to have left the H. E. I. C.'s Service shortly after the expedition to the Oxus, and it seems possible that he had in some way incurred the displeasure of the Authorities, for when in 1849, Sir Charles Napier about to take up his appointment as Commander-in-Chief, India, aware of his unrivalled knowledge of Sindh and of the Indus, asked for Wood's services, he was curtly refused. In 1858, however, when the Indus Flotilla ceased to exist as a Naval force, and the ships were handed

over to be run by a commercial organisation, Wood was appointed as Superintendent, in which situation he was conspicuously successful. He died in 1871 after an illness in India as the result of overwork.

III. The Final Phase 1838-1863

The surveys of the Mouths of the Indus proved of inestimable value in facilitating the landing of the Army of the Indus, under Sir John Keane in November 1838, for, as has been previously mentioned, the Harbour of Karachi was not yet in our hands, though its capture took place some three months later.

The portion of the Army intended for the march through Sindh left Bombay on 17th November 1838, in several transports. A number of country craft were also engaged for the purpose of transferring the troops from the larger vessels to the shore on arrival. The whole convoy was escorted by the H. C.'s ships-of-war *Euphrates, Constance* and *Taptee*, the *Constance* having on board Sir. J. Keane and Staff. The Convoy arrived off the Hajamree mouth on 23rd November and disembarked at Vikkur into the country craft, in which they were carried 28 miles upstream to Baminacote where a Camp was formed[7].

From this time onward, until 1858, a Naval Flotilla was maintained on the Indus, with Head Quarters at Khotri. In 1843, during Sir Charles Napier's Campaign, the Flotilla consisted of the gunboats *Planet, Comet, Satellit, Meteor* and *Nimrod* together with a few "flats" or houseboats which could be towed alongside. The Indian Navy List for 1858 shows the strength of the Indus Flotilla as 17 river gunboats and 9 flats.

The gunboats were shallow draft, paddle wheel craft, ranging from 150 tons and 40 horse power to 610 tons and 120 horse power, and each mounting two guns. Their war-time complements appear to have consisted of two officers and a ships company of sixteen European and twenty-two Indian ratings. In addition, during the 1843 campaign, each vessel carried a small detachment of 5 sepoys of the Marine Battalion. This Battalion, which was formed in 1777 served continuously in the H. C's ships-of-war and was an integral part of the Naval Service in which it had a long and distinguished record.

The vessels of the Indus Flotilla, apart from active participation in warlike operations, was entrusted with the maintainance of communications by River, the transport of troops and stores, and the evacuation of the wounded to the base.

This brief digression has been necessary in order to outline the formation, scope and service of the Indus Flotilla, but we must now cast back to the year 1838 at the conclusion of which, it will be remembered, the Army of the Indus had been transported to and disembarked at the Hajamree Mouth.

The vastly superior facilities of Karachi as a harbour were, by this time, fully recognised, and, on the 1st February, 1839, H. M. S. *Wellesley* wearing the Flag of Rear-Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland, Commander-in-Chief East Indies Station, appeared off Manora in company with the H. C.'s Ships-of-war: — *Constance, Berenice*, and *Euphrates* and H. M's brig. *Algerine*, and demanded the surrender of the Fort. This was refused, but after a short bombardment a military force was landed and found the place deserted. The local Governor was persuaded to surrender shortly afterwards, and the Town and Harbour of Karachi became British.

It may be of interest to record here that the *Wellesley*, 74 guns, was built for the Royal Navy in the Naval Dockyard in Bombay, being completed in 1815. She was built of Burma teak and so solid was her construction that it is recounted of her (with possibly some slight exaggeration) that on one occasion she collided with a stone breakwater and that the only damage that resulted was to the breakwater. Be that as it may, she was still afloat, to the present writer's personal knowledge, in the year 1908 as a training ship for boys in the Rivor Tyne.

A further interesting historical fact in connection with this ship is that Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland had had the distinction, as Captain of H.M.S. *Bellerophon*, in the year 1815, of receiving on board his ship, Napoleon Bonaparte, who had come to surrender himself after his final defeat at Waterloo.

During Sir C. Napier's campaign in 1843, with Karachi as the sea base at which troops and stores could be landed in safety at all seasons of the year, the line of communication up the Indus was

comparatively easily secured, and the Naval Flotilla under Commander Nott, I.N., was kept fully occupied.

The *Planet* took part in the defence of the Residency at Hyderabad, under Outram, being stationed on the River side and covering with her guns the withdrawal of the garrison which was finally evacuated upstream with the assistance of the *Sattelite* which had arrived on the scene too late to take part in the defence.

Both these vessels were then detailed to transport a body of sepoys under Outram, to set fire to a wood which, it was thought was affording cover to the enemy's left flank at Meanee.

On the following day, February 17th, the Battle of Meanee was fought. At this decisive action, the Navy though not present on the field, was represented by the *Comet* under the personal command of Nott to whom was assigned the task of preventing the crossing at Sehwan of a large body of the enemy who were endeavouring to reinforce the remainder of the Belooch Army. This important duty was effectively carried out, though it seems to have received scant acknowledgment from the Military Commander-in-Chief. Although generous tribute to the services of the two vessels at Hyderabad was paid by Outram, the work of the Indus Flotilla throughout the campaign appears whether by design or inadvertance, to have received little or no attention from Sir C. Napier. The real reason is probably that the Indian Navy then, as it remained up to a much later date was "nobody's child." The Military high command affected to look upon it as floating appanage to the Army Transport; the Royal Navy regarded it as an irregularly constituted Force, and the Court of Directors, while ultimately directly responsible for its constitution and administration, showed complete indifference to the welfare of its personnel. The wonder is that the efficiency and esprit de corps of the Service remained at so high a level.

Before concluding this brief survey of the Indian Navy's part in the conquest of Sindh, it may be of interest to note that Commander Nott and a party of seamen had the distinction of hoisting the British Flag over the Fort at Hyderabad on the 20th February, 1843.

During the years immediately succeeding the conquest the Indian Navy was chiefly concerned in the development and administration of the Karachi Harbour as a seaport and in

organising the Indus Flotilla, not only as a means of policing the areas through which the River flows, but in opening up navigation toward the Punjab, where, shortly, war was again to break out.

Lieut. Giles was appointed as the first Master Attendant at Karachi in 1839 and was succeeded by Lieut. Carles, I.N., whose careful surveys and well-thought out projects speedily resulted in the Harbour being rendered capable of accommodating sea-going vessels.

During the First Sikh War, the Indian Navy furnished and manned a battery at the siege of Multan. The Flotilla provided the transport and succeeded in reaching a landing place within six miles of Multan.

General Whish in his despatch of 22nd January 1849, says: —

"The services of Captain Powell of the Indian Navy with the steamers under his command have been of much value to the expedition, and a detail of seamen from the vessels have afforded relief at the batteries on several occasions"[1]. (N.B. This was *in addition to* the battery provided and manned entirely by the Indian Navy).

The last occasion on which the Indus Flotilla saw active service was during the Mutiny of 1857, when it was fully occupied in transporting troops and stores between Karachi and the Punjab. In 1858, it was decided that no further reason existed for maintaining a naval force on the Indus. As has already been mentioned, the vesels were handed over to a newly formed commercial organisation, in which Government itself took shares, and the Indus Flotilla therefore ceases to interest us as a naval subject.

With the events which brought the Indian Mutiny to an end, there ends also the record of the H. E. I. C's Navy, for the Company itself ceased to exist. Its land forces were merged into the Services of the Crown and became the Indian Army. The Company's Navy, however (except as regards its Marine Battalion) did not share that good fortune. The Supreme Government in India and the Court of Directors at Home had never, throughout the whole period of the Company's rule, been remarkable for either appreciation or encouragement of the officers and seamen who served them so well

throughout the Eastern Seas and for over 200 years. It was decided to disband the Indian Navy and to pay a subsidy to the Admiralty to maintain in Indian Waters a squadron of the Royal Navy, and so, on April 30th, 1863, the Broad Pendant of Commodore Frushard was saluted with 11 guns from Bombay Castle as he came ashore for the last time. The Ensign of the H. E. I. C.'s Navy was hauled down, and the Service ceased to exist.

It seemed almost as though there existed a malignant determination that that should be forgotten, for, when Mr. (later Sir Clements) Markham the historian, called at the India Office and asked to be given access to the records of the Indian Navy for the purpose of compiling its history, he was told that orders had been given for pulping them, and that the major portion were already destroyed.

One last quotation from Low, who quotes the *Bombay Times* on the occasion of the disbandment of the Indian Navy:

"Though the *esprit de corps* of the Indian Navy has been severely tried during the last two years by the uncertainty of its fate, the Service has maintained its discipline to the last. But not alone in its combatant glory has it covered itself with honour, in the advancement of every branch of naval science, in arduous and minute surveys, the Indian Navy has been unrivalled. The Officers have done more, in proportion to their numbers, than any other service in the world. Many of them from their intimate knowledge of native affairs and character, particularly in Persia and Arabia, have rendered, important political services and filled important political appointments....... The hauling down of the Indian Jack closes an era in our Indian Empire...... The Service expires too soon for the interest of science; perhaps for the interest of our country, but not too soon for its honourable and lasting mention in our national annals."

Though it is outside the scope of this paper, the present writer feels it impossible to conclude without mention of the fact that this was not the end. The H. C.'s Navy indeed, existed no more, but a Service under the Crown, bearing the title of Bombay Marine was instituted in its place. Though shorn of all combatant status, it still maintained the Indian Navy traditions, gradually enlarging its cadre and scope of its duties it became Her Majesty's Indian Marine, and,

later, the Royal Indian Marine. On November 11th, 1934, it became the Royal Indian Navy.

THE INDIAN NAVY

A review of its activities in Sindh and on the adjacent Coast 1615—1863.

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Sindh and the Indian Mutiny of 1857

By C.L. Mariwalla, B.A.

(Read before the Sindh Historical Society on 21st August 1940)

The mutiny of 1857 was the last armed upheaval to overthrow the British in India. It was not only a sepoy mutiny but the mutiny of the Indian people as a whole. Thus wrote the Press, London, dated 1st August 1857:__ "If the disaffection is confined to the sepoys and the civil population are with us what on earth does the Government of India mean by troubling us with its calls for European troops and its telegraphic alarms? There are men enough within its reach to raise ten armies from if the people be only well affected to us, as the ministers and directors state". And it makes an interesting account to be recapitulating the part Sindh played in that futile attempt.

Before we recount the incidents of this unsuccessful attempt in Sindh, it would not be out of place to consider the immediate causes of the rebellion and the elaborate arrangements made, inspite of a vigilant Government. Here is a version of how the army discontent was roused, as given by the *Bombay Times*, dated 2nd June 1857. Cartridges for the Enfield rifle were contracted to be made at Dum Dum in India. One day a Clashee who was engaged in making the new cartridges, met a Brahmin sepoy, lotah in hand. The Clashee asked for a drink which the Brahmin declined to give as he did not know the other's caste. "Caste", replied the Clashee, "In a few days, you will have no caste, for you will have to bite cartridges greased with the fat of the bullocks and pigs". The Bengal army contained high class men and this news soon spread among them. Pollusion and conversion to Christianity was thought to be the aim of the introduction of the new cartridges. But that could not be the only cause of the mutiny, though it was the main cause. In the houses of Parliament it was brought to the notice of the members that contrary to contract, some fat in question had really been used and this information resulted in a retort from Mr. Disraeli who was in opposition at that time. The second and the final cause, in the words of the "*Bombay Times*" is as follows— "What lies at the bottom of the existing contumacy is a desire for increase in Pay." Increased

heaviness of duties due to the attempt at extension of the British Empire made the sepoys feel that they had a claim to higher pay. Whatever might have been the ulterior motives of the leaders of the mutiny, these two were quite potent causes and it is surprising that no active steps were taken to nip the trouble in the bud; instead, some interested persons were fanning the fire successfully.

The success of a country-wide mutiny greatly depended on the speed of communications. For this purpose a novel plan was put into force which proved to be immensely successful. Here is the story and a comment thereon from the *Friend of India*, dated 24th March 1858: — "One morning towards the end of the last month the officials of Fatehgarh were all in commotion. From Thana after Thana there arrived little chappaties about 2 inches in diameter. It appeared that a few evenings previous, a Chowkidar from Cawnpore ordered a Chowkidar in Fatehgarh to make and bake 12 Chappaties such as the one he showed. Two he was to retain. Two more were to be given to each of the five nearest Chowkidars. The order was obeyed and long there was running and baking of Chappaties. The five obeyed orders also and distributed their message to 25 and so the affair went on, the cakes sweeping over the district at a speed at which no Indian post yet travels. The wave has not stopped yet. Is there to be an 'explosion of feeling', or only of laughter? Are the Chappaties of the Fiery Cross or only an indigestible edible, a cause of revolt or only of the Colic." Having seen that the communications were prompt, and the people willing, thus armed the mutiny broke out at Barrackpore.

Sindh had just been relieved from its Chaotic state under the Talpurs, in 1843. It was enjoying the benign rule of Sir Bartle Frere. The people had just settled down to a normal Peace-Time when the mutiny broke out. They were fully conscious of the great advantages of the new rule. They hardly mutined. Not that alone. They helped the rulers considerably, to quell the rising.

Here is a short diary of the events that took place in Sindh during the mutiny: —

Early in 1857, soon after the out-break of the mutiny at Barrakpore, the harrowing tales of the butchery of the Europeans reached Karachi. The community was up and alarmed. They met in a public meeting on the 29th of June, under the Presidency of Sir

Bartle Frore. All bore anxious faces. It was a tense atmosphere. At last Sir Bartle broke the ice. He gave a brief account of the mutiny as culled from the official information received by him. He assured those present that they need not be afraid since there was no danger of an out-break in his province. This greatly relieved those present and the meeting dispersed.

As soon as the mutiny assumed an All-India form, the Government of India passed the Press Gagging Act. This greatly handicapped the Press, who contemptuously termed it as the Black Act. Here is what the *Sindh Kossid,* a Bi-weekly of Karachi, of those days, says about it: — Never was a gubernotical act more ill-timed or ill-judged than that which has placed a tyrranical censorship over the Indian Press." And in Sindh the axe first fell on the *Sindh Kossid* itself. This is how an editorial dated Friday 18th September 1857 details out the incident: — The proprietor printer and manager of the *Sindh Kossid* were summoned on Tuesday last to attend the Magistrate's office to answer for 'an article' that appeared in our journal. The summons being for 'immediate' attendance and the vague allusion to 'an article' put us about not a little— first to procure swift steeds to do ourselves the honour of 'immediate' attendance and secondly at looking over all the paper in question and wondering what article it might be that we were called upon to answer for. However the several parties attended, being escorted by the Editor who had fearlessly taken the brunt upon himself to answer all enquiries. The Magistrate, having received the usual salutations from the men of the Press, proceeded, with paper in hand, to read a part of our Kotri correspondent's letter regarding an incident that had taken place at Kotri. Having accomplished this task of reading aloud, the authority before whom we were standing assured us that there was not the slightest truth in the statement, and that such mis-statements would oblige him to 'stop the press'. He desired to be acquainted with the authority for the statement, which of course we declined to furnish under any circumstances. We on our part assured the Magistrate that the statement had been conveyed to us through a gentleman upon whose veracity we had the utmost confidence and that it found a place in our columns under the impression that it was correct, that we were sorry to find, from the Magistrate's assurance, it was not so and that we should be careful in future not to lay ourselves open to any such statements. The Magistrate exorted again and reiterated his intention of

"stopping the press" should any mis-statements again find their way into our paper."

As the distress of the European community increased, a demi-official voluntary aid fund was started at Karachi, to which all ungrudgingly subscribed. This proved of great avail to the refugees.

As the circumstances required, the Commissioner issued proclamations prohibiting sale of fire-arms and ammunition to the native population without previous Government permission, as also transmission of lead, sulphur, salt-petre, gun-powder etc. except for Government purposes.

The Commissioner ordered a recruiting depot to be established in Upper Sindh, which in a short time, recruited battalians of Beloochees for active service against the mutineers. Seth Naumal of Karachi made a gesture of loyalty by promising to furnish a loyal and sturdy force of 3000 strong from Africa, if the Government provided the conveyance. He and the other Sethias of Karachi gave all the facilities that the Europeans mostly needed at this time.

The Government also opened a camel train from Karachi to Multan, having stations after every 20 miles or so, where at each station were stationed about 50 camels ready for work. By means of this arrangement and the Indus Flotilla, the regiments were sent to the Punjab to suppress the rebellion there.

But all was not quiet in Sindh. Lieut: Battis Combe received news on the 9th September of a plot at Hyderabad fixed for the 12th instant. "The cool courage of Brigadier Morris, and a timely gallop of the mounted police sufficed to prevent the signals of the disaffection taking effect." The Native infantry was ordered a special parade immediately, where they were disarmed and the ring-leaders arrested. Even the native guard on the Fort was replaced by the guard of the Royal Fusiliers and the fort guns were mounted for any emergency. A Court Marshal was held where the arch conspirator Havaldar Coombarsing was ordered to be shot from the guns, his accomplices were either to be hanged or were transported for life, only two being acquitted. "When the Havaldar came to face his ordeal, he lashed his back to the muzzle. The port fire was lighted— ready fire— and away he went full sweep, a portion of the back-bone nearly knocking the Deputy Collector from his camel."

A dreamy but dark suspicion of the fidelity of the 21st. N. I. stationed at Karachi, had been entertained due to its containing a number of Bengalis. On Sunday 13th September at 11 p.m. two Oudh Brahmin native officers of the 21st N.I. betrayed their comrades by informing their officers Major Mc. Gregor about the mutiny planned by the regiment at 2 p.m. on Monday morning. An orderly of the 21st. N.I. independent of the Oudh Brahmins, had similarly informed the Major. It had been decided to capture the treasury, murder the officers and proceed to Hyderabad. Prompt arrangements were made to meet the situation. Major McGregor immediately "consulted the Brigade Authorities, who without a moment's delay ordered the whole of the European troops to be assembled and marched to the scene of anticipated revolt. The troops were lined up at the parade ground of the 21st N.I., with two Artillery guns on each flank. After due arrangements, the assembly of the 21st N.I. was ordered, which met after due reluctance. This necessitated two Nine Pounders to be summoned for any eventuality. The roll was called and after a few words being addressed to them, the order to file arms was given and was promptly obeyed, without a murmur. The European Infantry took charge of the arms and on inspection, 40 fire-locks were found loaded. After the disarming a strict search was made of the huts of the 21st N.I. and nothing beyond a few swords were recovered". "All this was done within three quarters of an hour" and 'so quietly that the majority of the town-folk were not even aware of the military movements, until after many hours.' All this points to the prompt way in which the situation was handled by the authorities. 36 men of the 21st N.I. were found missing. Of these 6 were caught immediately, 3 were secured in camp the next day, and 11 more were captured while crossing the Hubb; but still some ring-leaders were at large, specially the chief conspirator Color Havaldar Ramdin Pandey.

The police force of 150 and 4 companies of drilled infantry under Major Marston, assisted by captain Pirie and Khan Saheb Ghoolam Hussain, the adjutant of the force, pursued the 36 fugitives and brought in or otherwise accounted for them all. Immediate steps were also taken to safeguard every European resident. Ladies found a fine rendezvous in the capacious mess room of the Second European Light Infantry and the Civilians armed themselves against any attack. The principal roads of the Cantonment were lined in the twinkling of an eye with a complete chain of foot and horse patrol,

who kept open the communication and prevented stragglers or bad-characters from perambulating the streets or looting the deserted Bungalows. Volunteer Corps for night patrol were started in Camp to relieve the European troops for a state of efficiency in emergency. Here is a circular issued by the commissioner to that effect dated 16th September 1857: — "By the desire of Major General Scott, commanding the Division, all able-bodied non-military men possessing a horse and arms and willing to volunteer for patrol duties in and about the station, are invited to report themselves to Major Goldsmith or to Captain Johnstone who will give them instructions regarding the duty to be performed. It is suggested that for the present none should offer themselves who have family ties which render it a primary duty to remain at home and protect their household." Sd: H.B.E. Frere. European residents were promised easy supply of fire-arms for defence. The 14th N.I. was not touched due to their proven loyalty. At the time these incidents took place, the Commissioner Sir Bartle Frere was at his Bungalow at Clifton. Major Goldsmith was with him at that time. The Commissioner was immediately informed of the situation by Captain Johnstone. On hearing of the disturbance Sir Bartle came to town and inspected the Native lines. He found the state quite satisfactory.

Out of the deserters 10 were caught and Court-Marshalled on the 16th and 17th of September. Of them 7 were sentenced to be hanged and the rest were to be shot from the guns. Seven more were captured and 3 others died during the capture. At long last the Arch-conspirator Ramdin Pondey was secured and shot from the guns on the 23rd September, while his remaining accomplices were transported for life. They were marched along the Bunder Road under police escort to the Bundar to board the "Chusan" bound for Bombay.

There was a semblance of a mutiny in the 16th Native Infantry at Shikarpur, but the trouble was nipped in the bud. The battery rose at mid-night and from their barrack-square commenced firing in all directions from which that place was accessible; but the prompt action of Colonel Stewart, the collector, and Colonel Montgomary, the police chief, out-witted and captured them.

Soon after the force sat down before Delhi, the Frontier tribes planned their rising. Their leader Durriah Khan, the Chief of the Jakranis was to come to Jacobabad at 5 p.m., and his co-traitor Dil

Murad, the chief of the khojas, was to follow at 10 a.m. the following day, when they had decided to butcher Major Merewether and his officers who were to sit in durbar on that day. But at 5-30 p.m., half an hour after his arrival Dhurriakhan was on a fast trotting camel on his way to Sukkur, heavily ironed, to be placed on board the steamer lying ready to start for Karachi. Two days later Dil Murad Khan, who made off for the hills on hearing of his fellowtraitor's fate, followed in the same manner and the out-break was prevented.

On the whole there was no serious trouble in Sindh. For this the Commissioner was chiefly responsible. He had so pleased the populace that they willingly recruited and formed into those brave Balooch regiments which were responsible for the capture of Delhi by the Government. Here is what seth Naumal says about the attitude of the Commissioner during the days of the mutiny: — "I cannot sufficiently admire the patience, thought, judgment and courage evinced by Sir Bartle Frere during these troublous and trying times." But Sir Bartle had to seek the co-operation of the people. Inspite of the fact that "the generality of people in Sindh said that the English rule in India had well nigh come to a close", they fully co-operated with the Government. Sir Fredrick Goldsmith wrote in the Asiatic Quarterly Review as follows: — When speaking of the dead, those natives must not be forgotten who enabled Frere in the hour of danger to British Rule to dispense with his legitimate garrisons and trust to the resources drawn to himself from the hearts of the people he governed.

That has been the tendency of Sindh all along.

Thus Sindh played its part in the mutiny of 1857.

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Two Great Occasions in British History in Sindh

By C.L. Mariwalla, B.A.

(Read before the Sindh Historical Society on 30th October 1940.)

Karachi has remained under British Rule for nearly a century. During this period Sindh has changed completely. Great schemes have been conceived, put into force and completed. During this period of Sindh's history occasions have occured when the heart has felt overjoyed to find that the deserving have been duly honoured. In this paper I intend dealing with two memorable occasions in the last 100 years, one commemorating the starting of a great enterprise-The Sindh Railway-and the other bringing before our minds' eye how well can honest effort be rewarded-the ceremony of presenting the Insignia of the Star of India to Seth Naoomal Hotchand Bhojwani of Karachi.

Before describing the actual ceremony of what would be called the turning of the first sod, in England, but in India, breaking of the first ground, of the Sindh Railway, it would not be out of place to recount in brief how actually the scheme was conceived of constructing a railway line from Karachi to Kotri. It is a well known fact that Sindh was conquered by the British for purely commercial purposes, though military motives may have been the immediate causes of the conquest. Thus when the news reached Europe of the conquest of Sindh, one of the most imminent of the French Political Writers exclaimed:-"The Indus hence-forth is a British River; who can foresee the consequences to the destinies of mankind". And Sir Charles Napier, the conqueror of Sindh too was conscious of the commercial importance of the Indus when he said:-"The march of Alexander the Great from the Bias to the Ocean with the voyage of Nearchus marks the line of the European trade in India". At another place the great hero made a pointed reference to the potentialities of the Indus when he said "India should suck English manufactures up her great rivers and pour down those rivers her own varied products". After the conquest it was found that the lower delta of the Indus down Kotri was not navigable. Hence Mr. Bartle Frere, the

Commissioner in Sindh, at once realized that another mode of conveyance was necessary from Karachi to Kotri. It was under his guidance in 1853 that Mr. Hardy Wells began to collect information bearing on the construction of a railway to connect Karachi to "a point above the delta where the river became free from intricacies, dangers and delays of navigation". In the same year Lieut: Chapman drew up his report on the proposal. Next year i.e. 1854 sufficient information reached England to float a Joint Stock Company for the purpose. The contemplated company was started and registered with a provisional capital of 500,000 ponds divided into 25,000 shares of 20 pounds each. 5,000 shares were reserved for being sold in India. The East India Company was requested to grant a guarantee of interest on the capital. With a view to comply with this request the East India Company wanted to assure itself that the proposal of the Railway Company was sound. They invited objections. Major Treemenheere and Col: Jacob raised objections. Major Treemenheere felt that "the railway would be an incubus under which the Province will sink," and Col: Jacob advocated that the only profitable line would be via Sehwan to the Bolan Pass whereas the Railway Company thought of Lahore as the Terminus via Multan. But these objections were brushed aside by Mr. Neville Warren the Organiser of the Railway in India and the East India Company agreed with the Railway Company regarding guarantee of interest. The Directors of the honourable the East India Company guaranteed 5% interest on the provisional capital for 5 years but the rate after 5 years was to be reduced to 4 1/2%.

Three years from 1855 were taken to make extensive surveys and other preliminaries and at long lost Mr. Bartle Frere, the Commissioner, was invited to perform the opening ceremony of the construction of the Sindh Railway on 29th April 1858.

The site fixed for the ceremony was just a small cutting where the line crosses the Scandal Point Road. A procession was to start at half past 5 o'clock in the evening from the Railway office in the Elphinstone street to the scene of action, where a triumphal arch was erected, decorated with palms and other bushes surmounted by a gigantic coronet of green wreaths and roses. At 5 the Commissioner and the other invitees assembled at the office and inspected the plans and drawings connected with the proposed works. Exactly at the appointed time the procession was formed and it proceeded to the site on the Scandal Point Road. the procession

was headed by the Engineer and his staff on horse-back. Next to them came the peons bearing a large banner-the railway flag-with a locomotive and a camel worked thereon. Immediately after the banner came the Choubdars bearing silver-sticks, followed by the Commissioner's carriage. In the carriage were seated the two Assistant Commissioners of Justice and Revenue and the Managing Agent of the Railway Company, Mr. Warren, besides the Commissioner. They were followed by other carriages and men on horseback. Owing to some misconception of orders, the band and the guard of honour from H.M. 51 Regiment did not head the procession as was expected. the spectators comprised the whole of the higher class present at Karachi. A large concourse of Europeans and Natives also attended. The numerous carriages of visitors, drawn up in a line opposite the spectators had a very gay effect. When they reached the spot, after crossing the triumphal arch, the Commissioner and others alighted and took their seats on the dais. Rev: Carr and Rev: Coates read the service on the occasion. After the conclusion of the service Mr. N.Warren addressed the Commissioner. During his speech the Managing Agent of the Railway traced the history of the Sindh Railway and showed how difficult a task it had been to start a concern of this type. He pointed out that according to Mr. Bray, the man in charge of the construction, the line should be completed within two years. In the end he requested the Commissioner to commence the construction of the railway by turning the wheel-barrow specially provided for the occasion. The Commissioner before declaring the railway works as opened, made a befitting speech. He addressed the gathering thus:-"I need not tell you Sir, I undertake the duty with the most sincere pleasure. I think the first and most prominent feeling in the mind of every one here present must be one of deep thankfulness to the Almighty Disposer of all things, who has carried us through so many and great perils and permitted us to meet together this day to commence a work of peace, undisturbed by those alarms which elsewhere have so changed the face of Society in India. I trust that it is a humble reliance on the same over-ruling Providence and not in any confidence in our own unassisted strength and power that we shall carry on and complete this work.

"It is indeed a work which, unless I am greatly mistaken, will change the whole aspect of this barren plain where we now stand, and aid in making Kurrachee one of the great cities of India. But it is not merely as a work of great local importance that we must regard

it. It is, I believe a great national undertaking. Of its commercial value it is not necessary for me to speak. None of us who were in Kurrachee one short year ago are likely to underrate its importance as a Military work. We collect how, less than a year ago, we watched with anxious expectation the passage of the slender reinforcements we were able to send to the Punjab. How for days after they left us we heard nothing of them as they crept slowly up river, and we were glad to hear in any thing less than a week that they had safely reached Kotree. What would we then have given for a railway which would bring Kotree so near in point of time to transport in our harbour that the recruit who dined today on board the Sea-going Steamer at Kemarce, might breakfast tomorrow unwearied, and with all his baggage about him, on board a River-Steamer 110 miles off at Kotree.

In the last year, probably the most eventful in our Indian Annals, we have been taught how great was our want of men. This Railway will enable one man to do the work of ten. Of money our want was scarcely less urgent; of the value of our Railway in this the economical point of view, it seems superfluous to speak. I sincerely hope it will be found a source of profit both to the Government and to all who are in any way connected with it. But a Railway in India has I believe a higher function than that of a great Military Engine or a money-making and money-saving appliance. I believe it to be one of the greatest of civilizers. It can be no slight effect which will follow the completion in these desert wastes of a great work of art, compounded of the best of our Iron and Timber, with vast works of earth and stone, and cunningly devised Engines, which seems all but endowed with life and reason. When the most active and energetic race in the world crosses so many thousand miles of ocean, and establishes such a work of art at a cost as great as the whole value of our English trade with India one short century ago, surely great moral changes must follow.

A Railway always seems to me to bring out most strongly those deeply marked national characteristics which make our nation what it is, which have enabled us, a small and remote people, to bring our troops with the trophies on their standards of many a fight in distant fields, to dominate over such a vast continent, and I feel sure that the execution of this Railway will tend to impress more deeply on the native mind those great national characteristics, which have won for us the respect of the natives and have made us what we are. I cannot

but hope that the grand result will be to bind closer this country to England and to prepare in a thousand ways unknown and unobserved by us for that assimilation in interests and in faith which alone can render permanent our Empire over so many millions of such different races and languages. It is with bonds like these that I would bind India closer to England.

We have now I hope passed through the talking and writing stage, which Mr. Bray will I trust interunder one of his largest embankments, and I most gladly, Sir, accept your invitation to commence the stage of actual execution.

Immediately a handsomely carved wheel-barrow was placed at the disposal of Mr. Frere, who in a most workman-like manner and with his coat off, filled the barrow with all ease, an accomplished navy, which having been wheeled to the tip he deposited there and declared the Railway commenced. The crowd raised a loud and long cheer, the band played the National Anthem, the troops presented arms, the Railway flag was hoisted to the summit of the lofty flagstaff, and the battery at the Artillery Lines fired a Royal Salute. A Telegraphic Message was immediately forwarded to Kotree announcing the completion of the ceremony of commencement and a Royal Salute fire there too.

In the evening a party of nearly 60 ladies and gentleman sat down to dinner in a large Marquee pitched in the Mess-compound of the 14th N.I.. At the conclusion of the dinner after drinking the Englishman's toast, "The Queen", Mr. Frere proposed as a toast, Success to the Sindh Railway Company. The festivities of the day were brought to a close by a Ball in Mess-room of the 14th N.I. at which nearly the whole of the Civil and Military Residents in camp were present with their ladies.

The central figure of the second occasion is well known to those who possess any knowledge of Sindh History in the 19th Century. The course of history would have ben quite different without Seth Naoomal coming on the scene. His services to the British Government since his first acquintance in 1832 are too well known and have been ably chronicled by Mr. A.B. Advani in the Sindh Historical Society's Journal Vol. iv No.2 September 1939, to be repeated here. And it was but natural to hope that such a man would be amply rewarded after the conquest, though he had

rendered all his help gratuitously. As his grandson puts it, "out of pride he had been useful to the British", so naturally much was expected out of the bountiful magnanimity of the New Rulers of the Land. Instead something unexpected happened. Sir Charles Napier held a Durbar on the birth-day of Queen Victoria, on 24th May 1843 at Hyderabad. Seth Naoomal expresses his hopes of the occasion in the following words:"I entertained very high hopes of receiving marked distinction at Sir Charles' hands in consideration of my long and valuable service". Instead Sir Charles viewed him with a stern look of anger, "What a reward, I thought for all the toil and trouble", says Naoomal. Immediately after this, new grades of pay for the various officers were received by the Kurrachee Collector. Although Seth Naoomal was in the cadre of Deputy Collectors he was sanctioned only Rs.200/- per month instead of the promised scale of Rs.700/- p.m. But that was not all. All those people who were appointed in Government service on Seth Naoomal's recommendation were on one pretext or other, not only suspended from service but were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and his own brother Sukhramdas who was Mukhtiarkar of Ghorabari, was being trapped for no cause whatever. The Seth had built several houses valued at Rs. one lakh in camp at Kurrachee at the earnest desire of the British officers, before the conquest, which yielded him Rs.200/- p.m. and for which he had incurred the wrath of the Amirs who had ordered even his arrest. These houses were ordered to be demolished but subsequently a paltry sum of Rs.1,240/- was offered to Seth Naoomal as compensation. Seth Naoomal's family had enjoyed the privilege of extracting liquor for private use during the regime of the Kalhoras, the Kalatis and the Talpurs and held Sanads to that effect. This privilege was continued for 5 years after the British conquest but then the private distillery came to a premature end suddenly by the orders of the Government. On the top of it all came the last load of tyranny. Seth Naoomal was supended from the Head Karadarship of Kurrachee and asked to stand trial for the misappropriation of Government funds. His account-books were seized and he was insulted. This is rather a strange compensation for all good service. But all these things happened due to a Military-man being at the helm of affairs in Sindh. Military-men are usually short-tempered and are used to summary way of dealing with all matters. Most of the cruelties prepetrated on Seth Naoomal were the result of false reports given to the Governor and the Subordinate Military Officers by the enemies of the Seth. But the Governor Sir Charles Napier had a

personal grudge against Seth Naoomal as well. He was proud, nay vain of his conquest of Sindh, but when he toured the Province after the conquest he found to his surprise that the people acclaimed Seth Naoomal to have been instrumental for the success of British arms in Sindh. Sir Charles' vanity was wounded. And so he hit back by charging Seth Naoomal for tampering with Government money. however good counsels prevailed and none of the charges preferred against Naoomal were proved. Even then the Government did not reappoint him to his former post, though he was completely exonerated. Inspite of these hits, Seth Naoomal continued to serve British interests in Sindh. At long last a good soul, in the shape of Sir Bartle Frere, came to Sindh as the Commissioner, He fully appreciated the services of this great good man and further tested his fidelity during his tenure of office. He accordingly recommended to Government that a pension and a Jagir be given to Seth naoomal as a suitable reward for his services. The Government of India agreed to the proposal of the Commissioner and accordingly granted a pension of Rs.100/- for three generations and a Jagir in perpetuity to Seth Naoomal. The Government finally honoured him by bestowing on him the distinction of becoming a Companion of the Star of India in 1866. The actual ceremony of decorating the Seth with the C.S.I. came a few months later. Sir Bartle Frere had by this time become the Governor of Bombay. In the ending days of 1866 he visited Sindh and since that was to be his last visit to the Province, his retirement time having arrived, a Durbar was scheduled to be held at Kurrachee on Tuesday the 1st January 1867 at 12.30 p.m. at the Frere Hall. Among the objects of holding this Durbar the foremost was of bestowing the Insignia of the Star of India on Seth Naoomal.

On the day of the Durbar, the approaches to the Frere Hall were handsomely decorated with a variety of plants creating a very beautiful effect. A full company of Her Majesty's First Baluchees with its compliment of Officers and the Regimental Colours stood at the Southern gateway as a guard of honour. The Durbar Hall was also tastefully decorated. "At the doorway at the South end stood a dais covered by an octagonal-shaped canopy made of scarlet silk damask, trimmed with very rich gold lace, the curtains being most gracefully draped and looped up at the sides with gold cord and t assels. The dais was covered with black cloth braided and bound with gold lace, a dark green cloth curtain trimmed with gold, forming the background, which was drawn up until Sir Bartle Frere

was seated, when it was let fall. On the dais was laid a magnificent Turkish carpet and a handsome chair on either side of the seat of the Governor." The Governor's throne was covered with "scarlet broad cloth of the finest texture, richly trimmed with gold lace". Before the dais was laid another splendid Turkish carpet of red, white and blue stripes running right along its entire length. Flags and pennents were suspended and festooned all round the walls and richly damasked and carved coaches and chairs filled the entire arena."

At about 11 o'clock the dignatories and the gentry began to arrive and in no time the hall was filled to the brim. Major Lambert assisted by Saee Ellapa escorted the arrivals to their seats. Among those present the following could be easily spotted:-Mr. Chapman, Chief Secretary to Government; Major General Health, Commanding the Sindh Division, Mr. W.M. Cogland, the Judicial Commssioner; Mr. Melville, the District Judge, Mr. W.Boulton, Judge of the Small Causes Court; his chief clerk; the members of the Bar specially Messrs. Eugene Leggett, D.W. Barrett, Atmaram Pritamdas, Hassanally and Dayaram; Col: Marston, Superintendent of Police; Mr. Saee Ellapa, the Fojdar; the Native Police Official; Major Lambert, the Municipal President; Mr. E.Nash, the Municipal Secretary; Mr. Ashby Ingle, the Deputy Collectory; Mr. W. Wells; Dr. Beans; Captain Phelps, R.E.;Lieut: Mereweather, R.E.; Seth Naoomal and other Municipal Commissioners; Major W.H. Price, C.E., Superintendent Harbour Works; Rajas of Satara and Kolhapur; the son of Chief of Sathpura; Mirs Hassanally and Ahmedkhan Talpurs; the Sayeds of Tatta; Major Carnegy, the Adjutant General; Captain Campbell, the Quarter Master General; Captain Young, the Pay Master; Major Church, the Deputy Judge Advocate General; Captain Tyrrwhitt, the Political Agent, Thar and Parkar; Messrs, Rawlinson, McNiel and Ross of the Sindh Railway; Mr. Maresecaux of the Agra Bank; Mr. A.E. Denso of Volkart Brothers; and W.M. Malvery, the Editor of "Our Paper". All classes of people had been invited and some ladies too graced the occasion by their presence.

At about half past 12 the booming of 17 guns apprised those present, of the approach of His Excellency the Governor. The Governor soon entered the Hall accompanied by Lady and Misses Frere and attended by Mr. Mansfield, the Commissioner; Honourable Mr. B.H.Ellis, Major Leech, the Private Secretary; Major Seymour, the Military Secretary, Dr. Bruickshank, the

Medical Advisor and Captain Watts, Aid de Camp. On His Excellency's entering the Hall every one rose and kept standing till he took his chair, Mr. Mansfield on his right and Mr. Ellis on his left. After acknowledging the salutation, the Governor commanded Mr. Chapman as the representative of the Bombay Government and Major Lambert as that of Sindh to introduce Seth Naoomal. When this was done Sir Bartle addressed him thus:-Seth Naoomal, I have received from His Excellency the Viceroy and Grand Master of the most exalted Order of the Star of India with instructions to deliver to you a grant under Her Majesty's Sign Manual, conferring on you the dignity of a Companion of the said Order, together with the Insignia thereof, and in so doing I have been instructed to omit no circumstance which may conduce to give dignity and honour to the occasion'. It is not necessary that I should now dilate on the character or greatness of the distinction which Her Majesty confers upon you. It admits you to a brotherhood which numbers among its members all that is most illustrious in or belonging to India, the Sovereign, and Heirapparent to the throne, the Viceroy of this great dependency, the heroes and statesmen who have contributed to acquire and maintain the Indian Empire and the princes most illustrious for their descent or most distinguished for their great qualities as Rulers.

"Of your claims to be enrolled in such a noble company it is not necessary that I should here speak. Very recently in this very Hall the Acting Commissioner of the Province in announcing to you Her Majesty's gracious purpose dwelt on your life-long devotion to the British Government and I need not further describe the services which he then recounted, but I am personally glad of the opportunity of expressing my own strong sense of the assistance I received from you during the troublous year of 1857-58. You had great influence among your countrymen, you possessed information drawn from every part of Northern and Western India and you placed all unreservedly at the disposal of the Government. When many of your countrymen were appalled by the greatness of the danger and believed that some catastrophe threatened the existence of the British Empire in India, you never faltered in your sagacious trust in the power of the British Government to uphold the cause of law and order. It is a great source of pleasure to me in now leaving Sindh before I take my final departure from India, to be permitted to confer this honour on you in the presence of the Commissioner of the Province and of my colleague Mr. Ellis, both of whom have

laboured so long in Sindh and so highly appreciate your services. This honour, will, I trust be regarded by your countrymen in Sindh, not simply as a distinction conferred on you personally but as an evidence of the gracious regard of Her Majesty for this distant Province and for those commercial interests of which you may be here regarded as the Chief representative among the Native community.

There is one act of yours to which I would more particularly allude as showing your just appreciation of the character of British Rule and which will, I trust, find immitators among your countrymen. Few know better than yourself the power of the British Nation in war and their skill in all the art of commerce. But you also know that there is in every Englishman's mind a strong conviction that man does not live by bread alone and that there are things more valuable than victory in battle or success in commerce. You have not personally have had the advantages if an English education and it is therefore the more remarkable that you should have determined to send your grandson to what in your estimation is a distant land, there to acquire such an education as an Indian University can give the principles by which the conduct of educated Englishman is ruled. I trust on my return to Bombay to see conferred on your grandson the distinction of a University Degree and I trust God will grant you a long life not only to enjoy your own honours but to see them continued and augmented by those you leave behind you".

His Excellency then delivered to Seth Naoomal the grant under the Queen's Sign Manual enclosed in a Kimkhab Bag and the Insignia of the Order and the ceremony came to a close.

Here is a short note on the Insignia of the Star of India as it appeared in "Our Paper" dated 4th January 1867:-

It is firmly believed in the town of Kurrachee that the Insignia of the Order of the Star of India presented to Seth Naoomal is worth no less a sum than Rs.25,000/- that it places the holder in a position far above that of any one in Sindh and that the displaying it will cause the first dignatories of the land to uncover their heads and stand in abject submission during the pleasure of the holder.

Thus passes off the two great occasions in British History in Sindh.

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Karachi Town, Its Trade and Taxation in the First Half of the 19th Century

By C.L. Mariwalla, B.A.

(Read before the Sindh Historical Society on 19th Nov. 1939)

At present Karachi presents the spectacle of an up to date city and port, enjoying all the conveniences and amenities of the largest cities in India. It is a clean city with an efficient administration. All the amenities of civic life, all conveniences to the traveller and the visitor and all commercial facilities resulting in the brimful life that Karachi at present offers are but the growth of the last century. During these hundred years the population has multiplied many times over, whilst the total overseas trade has increased tremendously, being nearly 7 to 8 hundred times in value than what it was a century back. It really makes a very interesting study to be recalling Karachi in the first half of the last century.

About 1837 A.D. Karachi was surrounded by a mud fort and covered an area of 30 to 35 Acres. The fort boasted of bastians mounted with guns. About 40 guns (1) were mounted on the different bastians — but they were mostly of small calibre and nearly useless from age, and at the same time the Fort had many practicable breaches and therefore it could not afford any protection to the inhabitants from outside attack. The fort had two gates one leading to the sweet waters of the Lyari river, called Mitha Darwaza and the other led to the brakish water of the sea, called Khara Darwaza. The houses were generally mud built and flat roofed with wicker ventilators facing the sea and thus performing the double duty of wind sails and sky lights. The streets were narrow and incommodious. The bazar was covered over with matting as was the vogue in old Sindh. The principal portion of the better description of houses were in the centre of the town but Karachi could not boast of any public buildings worthy of note.

Beyond the walls Karachi enjoyed extensive suburbs containing almost as many houses as the town itself. Gardens bordered the

banks of the Lyaree for more than a mile covering the now Lawrence Road terminating at the point where the present gardens are. The trees were chiefly those of mangoes and a few tamarinds. The Mangoes of Karachi were reputed to be only 'second' to Bombay mangoes in India.

As regards the defence to the port there stood a fort at the entrance of the harbour at Manora. The fort was square in form with a round tower near it. The fort had bastians at the angles and the side looking inland was strengthened by a semi-circular redoubt. It had a parapet running round it with numerous loopholes for musketry. There were 11 guns on the fort. There was also a three-gun battery level with the water as one passed the fort and entered the harbour. There has been serious difference of opinion as to the effective defence provided by the fort. Col. Pottinger felt that the fort was judiciously placed but the actual experience in 1839 proved that Captain Carless who had surveyed the harbour of Karachi in 1837 was more correct. He writes in this connection: — "The fort was built to command the entrance but it is built too far from the edge of the cliff to do so effectually, and could not in fact offer any serious opposition to a vessel attempting to enter it. A sloop of war anchored at a proper distance would soon reduce it to a heap of ruins and the round tower too would follow suit and fare the same fate.

Karachi then was under the Amirs or Talpurs. Thr rulers had no enterprise at all and almost wholly the city of Karachi of those days was the creation of the inhabitants. The administration of the town was carried on by two governors appointed by the Amirs. One of them was incharge of the civil administration and was called the Nawab and the other was a military governor. The Nawab administered justice and his establishment collected the customs dues. His authority was uncontrolled, the only limit being provided by an appeal to the Amirs at Hyderabad. The extent of his authority was not very defined but it was supposed that he could not put a man to death without the previous permission of the rulers. Mutilation, flogging and exposure in stocks were usual punishments but the more usual one was that of fines. When the Nawab was assured that the accused could afford to secure his release by payment of money his punishment was usually commuted to that of fine as these amounts went to enrich his coffers. The very trifling remunerations paid to the servants of the state, especially the Amils and sepoys, was

a fruitful source of corruption and could not be wondered at. A system of bribery and corruption passed through every branch of the service of the state. The sepoy received fees to elude the vigilance of the Amils, who in their turn exacted salamies and took bribes to defraud the collectors and they again cheated the government. Apart from the Nawab who drew Rs. 100 a month, his establishment consisted of two munshies drawing Rs. 24 a month, for keeping books and correspondence and a score of Amils and sepoys whose pay varied from Rs. 3 to Rs. 19. The treasury officer of the times drew the grand sum of Rs. 7-8-0 per mensem. The military governor had the command of the city's mud fort and the fort at Manora. He had about 50 men under him, who drew a pay varying from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 a month, and he, the honourable sum of Rs. 60 while the Jamadar of Boat-men got Rs. 20 a month. Under this administration Karachi throve a century back.

At that time Karachi had a population of about 14,000 souls. Out of this, two thirds (9,000) were Hindus and the rest Muslims (4,850). For the education of the Hindus 3 to 4 schools were conducted by Sarsood and Pokarna brahmins and the children were taught the Sindhian language book-keeping, reading and writing. For this tuition each child took a hand full of rice and a few tooth-sticks daily while the parents paid a rupee or two a month. The Mulas taught the Persian language to the Muslims in the mosques. And those desirous of government employment repaired to the mosques since the court language was Persian. Here the charge varied from Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 per month. Female education was positively discouraged. Undoubtedly the fees were rather too high but this was due to no grant being given by the government.

At this time Karachi had 21 mosques and 13 Astans of Pirs. Out of all these only one of Pir Mangha received government allowance of oil. Hindu temples, tikanas and dharamsalas numbered 34. Here also only one received government oil, namely the temple on the site of the present day temple at Native Jetty. The government offered 7.5 seers of oil every month for the lamp that eternally burnt there. There was no idol in this temple and it was dedicated to the deity of the sea. It was much thought of, and no Hindu vessel ever entered or left the port without a small offering having made at the temple door.

The most interesting thing in Karachi of those days was the way one arrived at Karachi from outside by boat. As soon as the boat came inside the port the water would be shallow and hence the passenger had to leave his boat and get into the Batelo, the country craft, but this too he had to relinquish and get in a machwa, a smaller craft. Soon the time came when per force he had to bestride the back of a brawny Sindhi or to walk with legs INAURAL and the nether garments slung over the shoulders through nearly a mile of mud and water, averging two feet deep and overlying a strata of sharp shells and acquitic roots which admirably performed the office of mantraps. And thus after this great exertion one could land at this port which today can load even goods most conveniently.

Though it is well known that the princes of Sindh had no ocean shipping interest and they attached but little value to imports and exports except in so far as they might tend to increase their revenues and add to their personal comforts, still the trade had greatly increased in its volume, however languid it may appear in comparison to the present day trade figures of the port. The annual average value of trade transacted at Karachi exclusive of precious stones amounted to Rs. 37,47,000 (opium Rs. 16,00,000). The average customs revenue from the port of Karachi during the 1st half of the 19th century was Rs. 1,50,000, consisting as it did the following duties:—

Advalorem duty of 4% on all imports.

Extra duty of 2.5% on all goods that left Karachi for Upper Sindh.

A duty of 1% on all exports except silk piece goods and copper.

Extra duty of 3% on every Kurwar (1,800 lbs.) of goods imported and exported.

An export duty of Rs. 130 on every camel load (8 mds.) of opium.

An import duty of Rs. 5-8 on every imported slave.

The one noticeable feature of the collection of Customs dues of the Amirs was the farming out of the customs revenues. And

Karachi even under this arrangement yielded the highest amount to the Amirs among the riverine ports in Sindh. Karachi was farmed out for Rs. 70,000 per year exclussive of duty on opium and precious stones.

Coming to the field of the other local taxation we find the Amirs had not made an exception of Karachi and had not spared them from heavy taxation.

For every one rupee worth of grain purchased for private consumption the Government charged 4 pice but as regards other commodities only 3 pice in the rupee was charged.

Tax was levied on the merchants who measured or weighed any commodity at the Customs House.

The most important item of local taxation was a heavy tax on Gurafiery intoxicant preferred by the people at Karachi. It was produced from gur, dates, bark of the babool, and cassia, cloves, anise, etc.

Under the Administration of Amirs, Hindus of Karachi were exempt from the House Tax— a tax prevalent in all other towns of the dominions of the Amirs.

It is significant to note that there was no tax on salt during the rule of the Amirs in Sindh. A camel-load of common salt was sold for annas ten only in the Karachi market.

But if the Government forgot to tax salt they taxed gambling. The Government maintained a gambling house at Karachi where 9 pies per rupee was the tax for every rupee won in gambling. This was collected by a special Government employee in charge of the Government gambling house.

Tax on fish was pretty heavy. Every fishing boat came to the Customs House to show what it had obtained from the sea and if the fishes were less than 60 in number 1/4 of the number was levied as a tax and in case of 60 and over, 1/6 was the tax charged.. If the fishes were brought direct to the market, the Amil used to collect the figures of each seller and at the end of the month each person was charged the requisite number of fishes at a slightly higher rate than

market rate to account for the credit. Apart from this the Amil received some fish for himself free of cost from each seller.

The cattle owners whose cattle was used for carrying purposes, were charged 1/2 of the sum received for daily labour put forth by each beast of burden.

There existed a tax on shroffing of coins in circulation. Resident merchants made a present to the Government Officer in charge on every Diwali. Others paid 2 pice for every hundred rupees examined and the Gold-smiths paid 1/4 of the profits of their labour.

Brokers, butchers, ivory bangle turners, cotton cleaners, makers of culinary utensils, skin dyers etc., had to pay a stipulated sum through the headman of every trade.

Handlooms for making Loongees, Gul Badans etc., had to pay 3 pice per loom monthly.

Each kilner gave 9 pots every month as a tax, other-wise the potter was free from taxation.

Cloth dyers were absolutely free from taxation but the oil producers paid 1.5 seer of their product to the state every month.

That was how commodities were taxed at Karachi during the 1st half of the 19th century.

Now let us have a look at the imports and exports at Karachi. in detail. Four fifths of the imports at Karachi came from Bombay. They included Sugar (Bengal, China, Manilla, Batavia) 4,000 maunds at Rs. 50,000, coarse sugar from Malabar Rs. 35,000, Pepper 3,250 maunds at Rs. 48,750, Copper 1,000 maunds at Rs. 54,000, Cardamoms and spices 75 maunds at Rs. 10,500, Silk (Raw, dyed, Bengal, China *1st. sort*) worth Rs. 1,20,000, Silk 2nd sort worth Rs. 1,28,000, Timber worth Rs. 10,000, Ivory Rs. 64,000, English cotton yarn Rs. 20,000, Copra (dried cocoanuts) Rs. 25,000, Tin Rs. 17,500, and sugar candy, cocoanuts, safron, betelnuts, cinnabar, lead, steel best and inferior type, iron, quick-silver, senna; china paper, sandal wood, iron pots and pans, cussoon (red dye) airyon (drug) and tamarinds.

From Gujrat Karachi imported cotton 2,500 maunds at Rs. 37,500. From Persian Gulf Karachi got dates worth Rs. 30,000, dried dates worth Rs. 20,000, pearls worth Rs. 75,000, slaves at Rs. 1,20,000, and dried limes, cotton, roses, canvas, dried fruits, almonds, and pomegranate skins.

From Upper Sindh Karachi purchased tobacco. Coarse cotton cloth and indigo, from the Northern provinces it imported precious stones, raisins, dried fruits, while from Lusbella it had oil, oil cakes, ghee, wheat and gum. Thus the total imports at Karachi in 1839 amounted to Rs. 15,99,625.

All the goods imported at Karachi were consumed in Sindh, except only a small fraction which never exceeded Rs. 1,50,000 in value in any year was sent to the Northern provinces. This consisted chiefly of piece goods, a small quantity of steel, sugar, pepper and spices. The goods were sent on camels in carvans by two routes, the Lus Bella route and the Sehwan route. The Lus Bella route took 26 days to reach Kabul. This was cheap due to small exactions on the way but it was a highly risky one due to the notoriety of the highwaymen who frequented this route. The Sehwan route was more safe and took much less time but transit duties at Sehwan were tremendous and so the merchants prefered to take the risk rather than pay heavy transit duties.

As regards the articles consumed in Sindh, the goods went by land to Bunder Gharah, Tatta, Hyderabad, Sehwan, Khairpur and Shikarpur. The caravan took 3 days to reach Tatta, 6 days for Hyderabad, 13 days for Sehwan, 20 days for Khairpur and 25 days for Shikarpur. The roads were in good order and safe. Trust worthy escorts of the Jokhea tribe could be had at very cheap rates. They charged Rs. 2-8-0 for Hyderabad and Rs. 2 for Tatta or Sonmeanee.

Coming to the side of exports from Karachi, the following were the main things exported from this port: — Ghee 10,000 maunds at Rs. 170,000, wool 3,500 maunds at Rs. 350,000, Gogur (gum) Rs. 12,500 Mungeet (madder) Rs. 45,000 Raisins Rs. 32,000 Jeerah (seed) Rs. 10,000, Indigo 1,600 maunds at Rs. 120,000, wheat 33,000 maunds at Rs. 67,500, fish and shark fins worth Rs. 30,000, and Purwaz, oil seeds, oil and loongees as also opium 500 camel loads at Rs. 400 a maund at Rs. 16,00,000. The total exports thus amounted to Rs. 5,47,000 + 16,00,000 in 1837 A.D.

Now that we have known the improts and exports of Karachi as also the chief items in each case, it seems worth while to give details of the chief commodities specially those imported. Silk and cotton as imported from Bombay draw our first attention. The cost of the imported silk alone came to Rs. 3,00,000 per year. Among the silk goods the following were in great request: —

Mada pollams, China and Bengal silk kerchiefs, English, French, and China silks both plain and figured, Bengal Sarees, Surat Kimkhabs, chintzes of various patterns, etc. Among the cotton goods we had English piece goods, long cloth, sheeting cloth and English broad cloth, muslins several descriptions, plain and flowered, coloured cotton kerchiefs and common English shawls. It is clear from the above that Sindh had a good market for silks.

Next comes the importation of cotton from Gujrat. In the early part of the 19th century production in Sindh was at a low ebb and hence Karachi imported 15,000 maunds from Gujrat every year. But by about 1830 A.D. Sindh started cultivating cotton successfully such that it needed to import only 2,500 maunds in 1837 A.D. to meet the cotton demand in Sindh.

Karachi had a flourishing trade in opium. And the Government too didn't miss the opportunity. They charged a heavy duty of Rs. 130 on a camel load of opium. This came from Palee in Rajputana to be exported to Daman to escape top heavy duties charged to Bombay. Often times about 1,500 camel loads of opium was exported from Karachi every year but 500 camel loads was the more usual. The state often realized more from this source of revenue alone than the farmed out sum of Rs. 70,000, fixed for Karachi.

In the early part of the 19th century there seems to have been great request for pearls and precious stones. Although by 1835 A.D. Karachi's oyster rocks did yield pearls but they were too tiny and devoid of fineness of colour and shape to capture the Sindh market for pearls. So pearls came from the Persian Gulf. The precious stones came from the Northern provinces and were often exported to Bombay. They consisted of diamonds, emeralds, rubies, anmatyhsts, saphires, topazes and turquoises.

Karachi carried on an extensive trade in slaves as well. At least 6 to 700 slaves were imported at Karachi every year. This was due to the fact that British ports in India had disallowed disembarkation of slaves there. The slaves were mostly grown up children and 75% of them were females. There were two distinct classes of slaves— the Siddees or Africans and the Abyssinians or Hubshies. The Siddee slave could be had for a price between 60 to 100 rupees at Karachi. The Hubshies were more costly and hence only a small number was imported. Their price at Karachi varied from Rs. 175 to Rs. 250 according to the looks of the slaves. Hubshi female slaves of mature age were imported as they supplied a good market for being sold as mistresses to men of rank. The Hubshi was not only known for his looks but also for his quick adaptation to any trade if given some training. The Siddee served more as a house-hold servant than as any agent in trade. On the whole the Government realized about 4,000 rupees yearly from the importation of slaves at Karachi.

Karachi carried on a brisk trade in shark fins. Every year shark fins worth about Rs. 15,000 were exported to Bombay enroute to China. 12 large boats with crews of 12 men each were employed for the purpose of catching sharks. Due to this extensive trade Karachi had the largest fishery at any given port throughout the world.

Ghee and Gum from Karachi was exported mainly to Bombay and wheat and oil to the Persian Gulf, while the other ports imported rest of the goods.

Thus it must be admitted that though Karachi enjoyed no external pretensions of a great port, it did carry on quite a brisk trade before the Conquest of the town by the British.

C.L. Mariwalla
Butani, 11-10-39

written language Sindh must have suffered an irreparable loss in its wealth of literature and poetry; for the written language serves to leave a permanent mark on the civilization of a nation, and "is embalmed and treasured up on purpose to life beyond life." Notwithstanding the vicissitudes Sindhi retained its original structure and characteristics. It has been calculated that Sindhi possesses 12,000 Sanskrit words, 3,500 indigenous or purely Sindhi words, 2,500 Arabic words, 2,000 Persian, and so on[13]. Taking all these facts into consideration, it appears that the most suitable and natural alphabet would have been the adoption of Devnagri with necessary modifications. But in view of a large Muhammadan population it was desired that the Arabic alphabet should be adopted with additions of dots and strokes necessary to indicate the peculiar sounds of the language. In 1853 the Court of Directors of the East India Company decided in favour of the Arabic alphabet and sanctioned an annual expenditure of Rs. 10,000 for the purpose. Promptly a committee was constituted consisting of some Sindhi scholars to devise the present Sindhi alphabet of 52 letters... the 29 letters of the Arabic alphabet being amplified with 52 to represent all the peculiar gutteral, cerebral and pectoral sounds in which Sindhi abounds. Then commenced the task of writing books in Sindhi by translation from various Indian languages such as Persian, Urdu, Marathi and Gujrati.

Need for English Education. — Every nation requires a certain percentage of educated persons to carry on the executive as well as the administrative work; with the conquest of India, the British people felt the same need. So long as the administration was carried on in Persian, there was little difficulty, for the officials were already acquainted with the language. But when English came to be used for administrative purposes, it was felt necessary to educate the people of the country in the same language in order to carry on the work in the various departments. When Sindh was annexed to the British territory in 1843 education had already made some progress in other parts of India. Bombay had created a Board of Education for the administration of education in the Presidency. It divided the area into three divisions for educational purposes each of which was placed under a European Inspector. It also established a studentship and school committees in important centres and

13. p. 1. Mirza Kalichbeg: Sindhi language (in Sindhi) College Miscellany, Feb 1963.

undertook to open a vernacular school in every village containing not less than 2,000 inhabitants on condition that the people of the locality provide for themselves a school house, furnish it and keep it under repair. At this particular stage, however, the Board of Education was advocating the "filtration" policy— a policy so extensively in vogue in Bengal— and expending a large sum of money on it. The "filtration" policy which laid stress on higher education, led to the neglecting of the vernacular education. From 1843-52, it is reported that 43 vernacular schools were added to the list of Board Schools, while the number of English Schools considerably increased. But as the alphabet of Sindh was not settled then, this policy could not have affected Sindh materially.

Politically, Sindh remained a separate province at first, in 1847 it was made an appendage of the Bombay Presidency under a Commissioner. A special service known as the Sind Commission was created, and the members not of the Indian Civil Service but generally from the Military Officials were appointed Collectors and Deputy Collectors. These Collectors together with the missionaries took the initiative of opening English schools. Thus English education was started in the Karachi, Hyderabad and Shikarpur Collectorates.

Spread of Education among the Hindus.— Among the Hindu intelligentsia the importance of English education was soon realised; English education qualified them for "the most lucrative and honourable employment." It took the country by storm, appealed strongly to the practically minded Hindu official class, and captured the entire educational system. Thus "the system of public secondary education which has been developed in India has little indigenous foundation. It is an exotic introduced for the main part by the Government and the missionaries"[14].

The Vernacular Education. — The Government received cordial assistance in all measures taken to open vernacular schools in different towns, from the principal inhabitants, who in many cases promised ample contributions for the maintenance of these schools. In order to encourage indigenous schools, in 1853 small grants-in-aid were offered to the teachers by the Board. One year later, the

14. p. 94. Nathan: Progress of Education in India: 4th Quinquennial Review.

Board agreed to pay half of the teacher's salary for any new school opened by the inhabitants in any village school room and the other half of the teaher's salary. The Government grants to the Board were also increased.

The Department of Public Instruction was instituted in 1855 after the abolition of the Board in accordance with the recommendations of the Despatch of 1854. It drew up a scheme of work[15] for promoting education in the village, which did not come into force till 1863[16] when a local fund was established empowering the local bodies to levy one-anna cess, one-third of which was to be allocated to primary schools and the remainder to the local public work. The cess was first collected in 1865, originally levied without the sanction of the legislature, but imposed after receiving the sanction of the Secretary of State for India. At first the imposition of the cess was optional; in 1861 it was made compulsory. The Act of 1869 also provided for the appointment of Local Committees to administer the funds thus raised as well as many other funds that might be placed at their disposal. The establishment of educational cess increased the number of primary schools in the next decade. It is however, to be remembered that the cess was levied on land, therefore, the burden of taxation fell on the agriculturists, while the

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15. The proposed scheme of work favoured the indigenous Primary Schools to place themselves under the control of the Department which offered a grant equivalent to half the teacher's salary, and the establishment of village schools aided and controlled by the Department in areas maintaining 2,000 inhabitants. (p. 44 Sen. The History of Elementary Education in India).
16. In 1853 the Government of India interpreted that the Despatch of 1854 empowered the giving of grants to the indigenous schools only, and that the Government of Bombay had no power to establish the village and Urdu schools, on the partially self-supporting system. The Bombay Government replied that the partially self suporting system was substantially the same as the grant-in-aid system, in as much as the Department paid only a moiety of the schoolmaster's salary, while the people bore the rest of the school expenditure. The Imperial Government acquiesced in this view but desired that no new school of this class should be opened without their sanction. The extension of primary education being thus virtually stopped— for the grant-in-aid rules sanctioned by the Government were wholly unsuited to the indigenous schools— the work of the Education Department was limited to consolidating and improving its existing schools. (p. 115. Sen. The History of Elementary Education in India.)

non-agricultural community escaped from paying any cess, yet children of both the communities studied in the schools. Three-fourths of the expenses of these schools were met from the expenses derived from the levying of the cess.

The grants-in-rules on the system of payment-by-results were first introduced in the Bombay Presidency in 1863, and unlike the rules in Bengal and Madras embraced secondary education as well. "The maximum grants offered under the several standards of instruction prescribed by the Code ranged from Re. 1 to Rs. 4 per head, and in Anglo-vernacular schools from Rs. 6 to Rs. 30 per head, with a special grant of Rs. 160 for each pupil who passed the Matriculation Examination. A capitation grant of Rs. 2 in Anglo-vernacular and of 8 annas in vernacular schools was also given on the average attendance of the pupils during the year[17]". Although the education of the masses had the greatest claim on state funds, the grant-in-aid rules were such that in practice they were found unsuited to primary schools.

Till 1870, the Government of India had been contributing large sums to the Provincial Governments for the spread of education; but in this year the Decentralisation order compelled the Government of Bombay without any assistance from the Central Government to take the sole responsibility for the formulating of a provincial policy of education. This resulted in complete separation of the instruction, organisation, administrative control and finances of the primary and secondary schools. It was ruled that the cess-income should be entirely devoted to primary education. This gave great impetus to the linking up of the indigenous and local board schools under one administrative control in several parts of the Presidency. The local bodies were made responsible for the expenditure of the cess-income on Primary education and on local improvements.

In 1882 the Hunter's Commission made a survey of the educational progress in India. In view of the immense mass illiteracy the Commission recommended that the Government should make adequate provision for the education of all. It restricted the term "Primary Schools" to schools imparting education in the vernacular. The commission, however, did not recommend making elementary

17. p. 34. Bombay Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882-1883.

education compulsory nor free, though it suggested that the local bodies might admit a certain proportion of pupils as free students on grounds of poverty. The commission favoured the levying of education cess, which was already in force in the Bombay Presidency. As the demand for funds for the promotion of education was great in 1886, the Bombay Government, as a result of the recommendations of the commission of 1882-83 agreed to pay from the provincial revenue half as much as the local authorities would assign for education.

The primary education consisted of the infants' class and four standards. With regard to the character and scope of primary education it is remarked that the Bombay system resembled that of America, in which all classes of society read together the same course in the town or village school. This statement is significant when we learn that the primary school was intended to be not only the village school but the preparatory school for secondary education, and for the pupils who required a more complete education in the vernacular, the course of the primary school was extended to two further standards (after standard (IV).[18].

The local board schools, often known as "cess-schools" were really managed by the Education Department but maintained out of the money raised by the levying of the cess. The municipal schools were, however, maintained and managed by the Municipal Boards. The Municipalities serving in the urban areas were found more active in the spread of education than the District Boards which maintained or aided schools in the rural areas. The position of the District Boards was not strong either. In the interior often times villages were not accessible, and the people were indifferent to the advantages of education.

The Attitude of the Muhammadans. — One of the detrimental effects of education of this type is observed in the adverse influence it exercised on the Muhammadans. The British rule gave a set back to the Muhammadan education. "The British Government confiscated the endowments and stopped the allowances of the Tatta Sayads, the British influence dried up to a great extent the spontaneous springs which had nourished the indigenous agencies[19]."

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18. p. 190. Croft: Review of Education in India 1886.
19. p. 473. Aitkens; The Gazetter of the Province of Sindh.

Sharp describes the state of the Muhammadans thus: "When the control of the country passed from the Muhammadan conquerors, then later when Persian ceased to be the language of the court, the Muhammadan showed himself less ready than the Hindu in adapting himself to the new conditions. He did not seize the opportunity offered of Western education or of entry into public life. He sat apart wrapped in the memory of his tradition and in the contemplation of his ancient literature and bygone systems of science[20]." It however appears that the main reason for this attitude of the Muhammadans was the abolition of religious education from school, the observance of the policy of strict religious neutrality by the Government, that must have come to them as a blow. Born in the tradition of having religious instruction as an integral part of the school education, the introduction of secular education with absolute elimination of religion must have appeared to them as something akin to profane. It is doubtful whether the Muhammadans would have remained in such a backward state, if side by side with the religious instruction, stimulus were given to the secular teaching as well.

Girls' Education. — The Girl's Schools increased in number, but it can safely be presumed that girls' schools in the towns flourished more than those in the villages. It was difficult to induce parents to send their daughters to school. Social customs and tradition were against it. Orthodoxy and conservatism prevailed widely amongst the Muhammadans and Hindus. Moreover, there was no incentive to girls learning the three R's in the manner of boys. If girls were to have any education at all, it was to be religious. Therefore the education of the girls started mainly through religious instruction. The Hindu girls learnt Gurmukki in addition to the Arabic-Sindhi, because the religious books of Nanakpanthis who form a large portion of the Hindu population in Sindh are written in that character. The Muhammadan girls continued to learn the Quran under the Mullas.

The payment-by-result system improved the quality of the schools by raising the standard of instruction inspection and examination. The inefficient character of many of the village schools became a glaring defect in the light of the improvement in other

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20. p. 245. Progress of Education in India. 5th Quinquennial Review.

schools. Many children therefore, sought admission to board-schools.

Secondary Education. — Secondary education was, however, taking rapid strides. It drained the villages of their abler members. Parents willingly sent their children to town schools in the hope of securing a good past. Many left villages to settle in the cities and towns where better opportunities prevailed. The establishment of the Sindh College in 1887 made it more convenient for the people to avail themselves of education. Thus, English education secured a firm footing in Sindh and it was eagerly sought by many. In the last decade of the last century, education was, however, subjected to sudden and paralysing interruptions by visitations of plague; but in parts not affected by plague and famine, educational work proceeded smoothly.

Education at the close of the last century. — The close of the last century is, therefore, marked by the establishment of a few Government schools supported from provincial revenue and a large number of municipal and district local board schools. Besides these, educational institutions of all grades, from college to the primary, were maintained by private agencies. It was the policy of the Government to encourage private enterprise in education, with such object pecuniary assistance *viz*: "grants-in-aid" was given to all such schools that conformed to the prescribed courses of studies. The "grant-in-aid" was assessed according to the number of pupils found proficient in the various standards at an examination conducted periodically by the Educational Inspector and his deputies.

The Training of Teachers. — With the spread of vernacular education soon the establishment of an institution for the training of primary teachers was felt necessary. Therefore, as early as 1854, a normal school was started in Karachi in which instruction was imparted to such teachers of indigenous schools and others as desired it. This institution was afterwards transferred to Hyderabad and is now the Training College for men. *Administration.* — As regards the administration, education, in the beginning was entrusted to an officer called the Educational Inspector who was also an officer in the Revenue Department. Under him was the fulltime Deputy Educational Inspector devoted entirely to the task of education. But the Deputy Educational Inspector was not always in a position to obtain adequate guidance and advice from his superior

Officer who was generally overwhelmed with the task of his other department. In 1872 Sindh for the first time secured the services of a full-time Educational Inspector. Gradually, the need for more assistants was felt, and towards the close of the nineteenth century, the Department was controlled under the Director of Public Instruction, by the Educational Inspector in Sindh with four deputy inspectors posted at Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur and Larkana.

Education in the early twentieth century. — The number of educational institutions and of scholars found in the various institutions in Sindh early in the twentieth century are given in the figure, quoted below[21].

	Number of Institutions	Male	Scholars Female	Total
Public[22]	....	....	....	....
Arts College	1	122	....	122
Secondary Schools	39	4,668	454	5,122
Primary Schools	1,306	50,026	8,855	58,881
Training Schools	5	121	27	148
Other Special Schools	8	292	3	295
Private Schools	826	9,839	1,849	11,688
Total	**2,185**	**65,068**	**11,188**	**76,256**

The figures in the table disclose the fact that though education had made a start, the disparity between the education of the male

21. p. 431. Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. XXII, 1908.
22. Those schools which though under private management followed the departmental curriculum and rules, were styled "Public Institutions", while the indigenous schools of religious character which did not follow the departmental curriculum were not under state management, and were designated "Private Institutions."

and female population is great. It is, however, remarkable to note that three normal schools were instituted for women in addition to the Women's Training College. In literacy, we find, the province stood last among the four divisions of the Bombay Presidency, the literacy being 2.9 only (4.9 males and 0.5 females).

Vernacular Education. — The low percentage of mass literacy explicitly showed the need for expansion. It was obvious that it has received insufficient attention and inadequate share of the public fund. The Resolution of 1904 recommended that "Primary education should make a leading charge upon provincial revenues." In conformity with the educational policy of 1904, by the end of 1906, the system of the payment by results was abolished. To replace the system of payment by results other methods were contrived which differed from province to province. In Bombay each primary school was paid a fixed grant, subject to a maximum limit not exceeding one half of the local assets or one third of the total expenditure of the school during the previous year. Besides grants were also made for buildings and furniture.

Compulsory Education. — At a stage in the history of every country, there is felt a need for an intelligent and understanding population for the well-being and solidarity of the country. This is a modern demand which has arisen out of the modern complications of life and conditions. Its growth is, however, essentially slow in most cases. First, the people must be made to see the necessity of the new and unprecedented demand. Then popular opinion has to be roused. Even when the importance is realised, as Plato states, there is a world of difference between knowing and doing. The people must not only grasp the new ideas but leave their conservative attitude in order to adopt them. In case of the adoption of a new action, the people, together with other environment factors, such as social, political and economic, must co-operate to achieve the end. Hence the task of the reformer is necessarily arduous. The necessity of mass education was perceived by the reformers of the time. Unlike the miseries of the child in the factory and mine, the miseries of the child in the agricultural country are not so glaring. Yet they are potent enough. In 1904 the Government of India declared that the spread of elementary education among the masses was one of its foremost duties. In view of the policy of expansion of primary schools, the Imperial grant was raised from 40 lakhs of rupees in 1902 to 75 lakhs of rupees in 1905 annually for the whole

of India. In reality however a large part of it was spent for education other than elementary. With the increased grants new schools were opened and the existing ones were enlarged.

In 1911, Gokhle introduced his famous bill for the introduction of free and compulsory education throughout India. It was soon followed by the Emperor's speech in 1912, when he declared "It was my wish that there may be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges, from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations of life. And it is my wish, too, that the home of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge, with all that follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of comfort, and of health. It is through education that my wish will be fulfilled, and the cause of education India will ever be very close to my heart." His Majesty's declaration, coupled with the attempts of Gokhle's party, practically forced the Government to pay more attention to primary education.

Encouragement given to the Muhammadans:— Education now received considerable appreciation from different communities. Interest was awakened amongst the Muhammadans. They were given special concessions, encouragement and stimulus to come forward. A large number of Muhammadan pupils were exempted from fees, scholarships were awarded, liberal admission granted to the Government Vernacular Training Colleges. Boarding schools were instituted at suitable centres and special curriculum was sanctioned for them. The Government now had changed its religious policy and allowed religious teaching in ordinary schools where aggregate number of students was large enough to permit it, but on condition that it should be taught before or after school hours. Attempts were also made to enrol the Mulla schools by offering them grants, and inducing them to teach secular subjects as well as religious instruction. In the first flush of enthusiasm, Mulla schools of all grades were enrolled; it was followed by the policy of retaining the efficient ones and weeding out or improving the others.

Girls education.— The importance of the education of girls was also realised. The Commission as early as 1904 endorsed the view that "through female education a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men," but among the girls, it was still an almost

insuperable task to break through the barriers of long-standing customs and traditions. The difficulty was not so much with the progressive communities of Sindh in which the essentials of education were already instilled, but with the Muhammadans and the backward communities. In 1917, the Bombay report points out "Reinforced by such social customs as "Pardah" and early marriage the ill effects of the literary tradition and the general belief in the necessary inferiority of women have conspired together in this country"[23] against the education of girls and women. Together with these, the other potent factors must have been the absence of an adequate number of girls' schools and of women teachers, and the appointment of male teachers in girls' schools. In some places, widows and other elderly women came forward to act as teachers as a means of livelihood, but, in general, the feeling of the women was against the acceptance of any such profession, as teaching. In 1917, the number of girls in schools was 17,217 in the whole of Sindh 1.1. per cent. only of the total female population. Again it might be common place to state that the education was pursued more by girls in the town than those in the village. It is pointed out that regarding the general backwardness of the Thar and Parkar districts, the number of girls' schools is remarkable[24].

Fees. — Most of the local board schools were free. The percentage of the free schools in the different districts in Sindh varied from 60 to 100, and the institutions that charged fees also contained 25% to 75% free students. The actual amount of fees charged was 6 pies to 2 annas per mensem.

Secondary Education.— As regards secondary education, Middle and High Schools were started in large villages and towns. While the High Schools were mostly concentrated in towns[25], middle schools were distributed in different parts of Sindh The Government had adopted the scheme of maintaining at least one model high school in each district, but three out of seven districts

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23. p. 93. Report on the Department of Public Instruction. 1917.
24. Imperial Gazetter of the Province of Sindh, Thar and Parkar District, 1919.
25. Out of six high schools, two were in Karachi, two in Hyderabad, one in Shikarpur, one in Bhirie (Nawabshah) apparently, the last one could serve the neighbouring villages more than others.

had no Government High School[26]. Some schools had boarding houses attached to them for the convenience of the Hindu and Muhammadan pupils from the neighbouring towns and villages. The middle schools had three or five English standards, while the High Schools had seven standards terminating in the Matriculation Examination.

Pre-reform Government Policy and the Reform of 1919.— Considering the pressing demand of India, *viz*, the breaking down of illiteracy, the Government of India declared its desire to assist the local Governments with the provision of funds. All along the Central Government had been contributing an ever increasing amount of funds to the local Government for the expansion of primary education. In accordance with the formulation of the new scheme there was to be introduced general compulsion on all local bodies throughout India to provide facilities for the extension of primary education, so as to double the number of pupils in primary schools within ten years. To meet the enormous expenditure it was proposed that the Imperial Government should advance one third, provincial Government one third, and local bodies one third of the total cost. The cost of training additional teachers was to be divided between the Government of India and the provincial Governments. With the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the direction and financing of this scheme had to be abandoned, and the Government of India was prevented by the constitutional position from giving further direction and financial help to the provinces.

The Devolution of Primary Education on the Local Authorities. — Primary Education Act of 1923 entitled a scheme of further devolution of control; it completely handed over to the local bodies the charge of the elementary schools. Before the passing of this Act, in spite of the great powers vested in the local authorities, the power of granting recognition and aid to vernacular schools was almost everywhere in the hands of the executive Government, and the Government was responsible for the direct management of large classes of vernacular schools. This Act as amended in 1927 changed left to the local Authorities the management of their own schools. In 1926-27 the year of devolution of control, there were 1949 Primary schools in Sindh with 109, 161 pupils (boys and girls), of

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26. Nawabshah, Thar Parkar, and Upper Sindh Frontier had no Government High Schools.

which 916 institutions belonged to the District Local Boards, and 724 were Mulla schools with 24,022 pupils (boys and girls[27]). With the passing of the Primary Education Act of 1923, we enter the new era of the development of rural education.

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27. pp. 68, 80 and 180. Quinquennial Report on Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency 1922-27.

The Mazaris of Sindh

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Read before the Sindh Historical Society Karachi on 19-2-1939

Small incidents have often served as preludes to political developments of a far-reaching character and so did the raids of the Mazaris of Sindh. Though merely a predatory tribe, it has unconsciously played an important though infamous part in Indian history early in the 19th Century. Strange as it may seem, there is hardly a mention of them in most books of Sindh except a passing reference here and there. Their share, though indirect, in shaping the destinies of Sindh, does not appear to have evoked proper recognition. They were instrumental, first, in precipitating a clash between the Ameers of Sindh and Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and secondly, as a sequence of events, in the complete overthrow of the former by the English. The Mazaris had perhaps never intended to be the cause of the misfortunes of Sindh, but their predatory habits gave rise to circumstances that contributed to causes which compelled the Ameers to be drawn into unequal conflicts with superior powers, *viz.*, the Sikhs and the English, culminating in the entire extinction of their chequered rule.

Richard F. Burton[1] mentions 79 principal Beloch clans settled in the plains of Sindh, the Mazaris being by no means the most prominent of them. They were a tribe of robbers inhabiting the plains in the neighbourhood of Amarkot[2]. Their exact origin is not known but like other Baluchis they were, according to Col. Pottinger (Resident at the court of Sindh) and Postans, descended from the jews. The Baluchis, however, themselves claim descent from the Arabs and believe their original home to be 'Haleb' (Allepo)[3]. They

1. "Sind and the Valley of the Indus" pp. 368.
2. 'Amarkot' as mentioned in the British Agent's letter dated 14-5-1835 must be somewhere near Multan. It cannot be 'Umarkot', which is as far as about 300 miles to the sourth of 'Mithankot'.
3. Burton__ Sindh and the Races that inhabit the Valley of the Indus__ pp. 237. @ Ibid. 410.

are further said to be divided into two distinct families, namely (1) the aboriginies of Mekranand (2) those Arabs who emigrated from Arabia with Hajjaj son of Yusuf and settled in the conquered provinces of Mekran and Baluchistan while the rest of the invading army marched into Sindh[4]. It is however difficult, to say to which of these families the Mazaris belonged.

Though nominally subject to the Ameers of Sindh they were too unruly to be amendable to control. They numbered about four thousands fighting men and their chief stronghold was Rojhan which was was also the residence of their chief, Bahram Khan. They used to carry their depredations alike into Sindh, Lahore and Bahawalpur territories. The impetus to their raids was given by the combination of strange circumstances. Dera Ghazi Khan an adjoining district, was in the first instance leased by Maharaja Ranjit Singh to the Nawab of Bahawalpore, but on the latter's failing to pay the tribute, General Bentura, a French officer in the employ of the Maharaja was appointed to its charge. He was later succeeded by Dewan Sawan Mal, a distinguished officer of the Sikh Government. He effected certain reforms in the settlement of the country whereby the Beloch Chiefs and Zamindars were obliged to pay their revenue in money instead of in kind as previously. This measure was treated by them as an encroachment on their rights and created great discontent. Although a fifth of the Government share of the revenue was remitted with a view to mitigating their hardship which this direct taxation involved, they continued to labour under a sense of injustice. The Dewan was fairly popular and his rule mild. His difficulties were indeed enormous requiring great perserverance and tact, for he had to preserve internal tranquility among the turbulent Beloch without suffering them to fall into arrears of payment of their dues. General Ventura's presence had exercised a great moral check on these turbulent people and his recall had thus natrually a degenerating influence on them. The fact that a large contingent of Sikh force stationed on the western frontier was withdrawn contributed still further towards diminishing the dread of the Sikh Government and giving them an open field for their lawless activities. Moreover owing to a large extent of territory which the Dewan had under his charge, he had frequently to go from one extremity of the province to another as the exgencies of

4. 13 miles west of Jacobabad and about 50 miles to the north west of Shikarpur.

administration demanded, and it often happened that while he was settling affairs at one end, his presence was suddenly felt needed at another. It was thus impossible for him to exercise personal and direct control in all parts of his dominions simultaneously. All these circumstances combined to embolden the Belochis especially the Mazaris, to shake off the intolerable yoke upon them and to return to their predatory habits. Although the Dewan had had forts constructed at various important places, *viz.*, Dajil, Harrand and Amarkot, in order to check them, he could not altogether save his subjects from their frequent onslaughts.

At the close of the year 1834 the Mazaris made raids on the Sikh posts near Multan[5] and carried off considerable property from Mithankot and Amarkot. The Ameers of Sindh sent their agent to Dewan Sawan Mal in January of the following year offering to make good the loss that the Dewan's subjects had suffered from these depredations. He dissuaded the Dewan from his contemplated attack on Rojhan (which was nominally under the suzeranity of the Ameers) and assured him that the Ameers would see that the Mazaris were kept in check. The Dewan, however, did not consider the guarantee of their future behaviour to be adequate and desired not only the restitution of all property plundered away but also the surrender of the Mazari chief, Bahram Khan. The Sindh agent agreed to bring Bahram Khan to him within fifteen days, but he had already fled to the territory of the *Baghtis*[6] accompanied by a large number of his followers. The Sindh agent thus failed to produce the man by the due date, but he re-iterated his offer of making amends for the loss caused by the raid. The Dewan, however, insisted on the surrender of Bahram on pain of invasion of Rojhan. The Sindhis thereupon began to make preparations to meet the attack and mustered a force of 4,000 men at Rojhan. In the meantime the Dewan had devastated the adjoining territory "burning the huts..... and setting fire to the geatest number of houses at Badli and cutting the unripe corn." The Ameers then despatched another messenger, Kamal Khan, who was able to patch up a compromise with the Dewan whereby the latter returned to Mithankot on the condition, among others, that a hostage (Gola Singh Kardar of Ken) should

5. Letter from the British Agent at Mithankot to Captain Wade, Political Agent at Ludhiana dated 14-5-1835. (Punjab Government records).
6. Also called "Bughtis" or "Bagtis". They were a Baluch tribe which migrated from "Bug" on the Persian side of Baluchistan.

remain at the camp of the Dewan as a surety for better behaviour in future. A little later, however, (on 7th February 1835) the Dewan received intelligence of a fresh outrage alleged to have been committed by Mazaris at Mithankot at night, whereupon the Dewan placed Gola Singh in confinement.

He was thus compelled to march into the territory of Mazaris. He succeeded in forcing the submission of their chief Bahram Khan who surrendered himself to the Dewan and restored the cattle stolen from his Mithankot subjects. The Dewan also exacted from him under the name of *Nazrana* to Maharaja Ranjit Singh a large sum of money (of which the exact amount is not known) besides a number of camels, horses and cattle, and also, made him enter into engagements for good conduct in future under the pain of a heavy penalty[7]. These engagements were, however, far from being fulfilled.

By that time the Sikh forces had, under the command of Prince Nau Nihal Singh, conquered Dera Ismail Khan in about July 1834. It may be observed that Maharaja Ranjit Singh's foreign policy was marked by an intense desire to conquer Sindh, and the Mazaris' conduct provided him with an occasion for an invasion. With the conquest of Dera-Ismail Khan almost all the important posts in the frontier of Sindh had been occupied by the Sikhs and Sindh was now surrounded by them on various strategic points.

The Maharaja alleged that the raids of the Mazaris were incited by the Sindh Government and excused himself for his contemplated invasion of Sindh on grounds of self-defence. Whether the Mazari trouble was actually inspired by the Sindh Government there is no conclusive evidence to show, but the British Agent believed that it was only a 'convenient' plea[8].

Hostilities had thus opened on the Sindh frontier with Dewan Sawan Mal's attack on Rojhan in August 1836. Two months later another action was fought between the Mazaris and the Sikhs in which the former were repulsed with heavy loss and their fort called

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7. British Agent at Mithankot to Captain Wade dated 15-5-1835.

8. This question has been discussed in my article "Ranjit Singh's Diplomatic Relations" in the 1937 issue (Vol. XIII No. 2) of the 'Indian Historical Quarterly' Calcutta.

'Ken' was taken possession of by the Sikhs[9]. Prince Kharak Singh and his son Nau Nihal Singh having completed the conquest of Dera-Ismail-Khan were about this time on the bank of the Indus with large armies ready to engage with the Sindhis. The Ameers were also collecting armies at Shikarpur from all quarters and had gathered a force of ten thousand horse and foot, as also fifty pieces of artillery under the command of Mir Nasir Khan. Mir Mehrab Khan *Birohi* or *Brahui*, the chief of Kalat and other Beloch tribes of the hills had also placed their resources at the disposal of the Ameers who were consequently optimistic of their success. Before, however, they were actually drawn to an engagement with the Sikhs, the Ameers made another effort to arrive at an honourable compromise with the Sikh authorities. They accordingly sent their envoys to Dewan Sawan Mal and Prince Kharak Singh with a proposal for the establishment of a boundary between the territories of Sindh and the Punjab Governments. They proposed that the Sikhs should confine themselves to Rojhan which was formerly held by Behram Khan Mazari now fled to the hills, and that Ken which was about 13 miles from Rojhan and Shah Wali should be restored to the Ameers. The Dewan declined the proposal on the ground that these places formed part of the Mazari territory which the Sikh Government had decided to occupy. The usual demand for a *Nazrana*[10] was again put forward as the price of the withdrawal by Prince Kharak Singh when the envoys later waited on him[11]. The Ameers expressed their inability to tender the *Nazrana* and the two powers were thus now at the brink of war. But then came the inevitable intervention feared alike by the Maharaja and the Ameers, for the British came forward at this juncture and prevented the clash on the ground that the commercial arrangements arrived at in connection with their scheme of navigation through the Indus required unbroken tranquility which these hostilities threatened seriously to upset.

9. British Agent, Camp Satluj to Captain Wade dated 23-10-1936.
10. In the "History of the Punjab II (London 1846) pp. 134, the tribute demanded is stated to be ten lakhs of rupees, but this is evidently incorrect. the British agent on the other hand in his letter to Captain Wade dated 23-11-36 mentions that "Nazrana" of two lakhs was demanded. The latter figure seems more authenticated.
11. British Agent Camp Satluj to Captain Wade 23-11-36.

That clash was averted, but in the trail of the disturbed political atmosphere followed a series of events which ended in the British occupation of Sindh.

The Mazaris not only disturbed the tranquility of the Sikh dominions but also incurred the displeasure of the British Government for interfering in their scheme of navigation. The upper part of the river beyond the Sind territories was much infested by them, as they rendered navigation exceedingly insecure, with the result that commerce was seriously threatened[12]. The British Government too were thus anxiously concerned to see that the Mazaris were suitably dealt with. If the Maharaja's hostilities were restricted to the Mazaris alone the British would probably not have stood in his way, but they had a shrewd suspicion that he was contemplating an excuse for the entire annexation of Sindh which was opposed to their own ultimate designs of Sindh. The British Government were not then in a position directly to crush the Mazaris, but they gave a stern warning to the Ameers of Sindh that they must keep these men in check. Soon after they themselves came to occupy Sindh after which nothing more was heard of the Mazaris.

These events do not of course indicate that the Mazaris had any direct share in shaping the history of Sindh-but the indirect influence which their raids exercised towards deterioriating the political atmosphere was in no measure too small. Such a disturbed state of affairs in Sindh, as in many other part of India, was bound sooner or later to end in its occupation by the British. Had the Mazaris behaved and co-operated with the Ameers in keeping peace instead of adding to their embarranssments, Sindh might perhaps have been on a different political footing today.

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12. t. Postans "Personal Observations on Sindh— 1843" pp. 229.

The History of Dress

By Dr. Omar Rolf Baron Ehrenfels

I. The Problem of the history of dress

The scientific description and analysis of dress has been much neglected. This is partly due, it seems, to the artistic pleasure in the picturesque beauty of various dress-fashions, which has been so much in the foreground, as to allow the merely scientific outlook on the subject to become a matter of general interest.

Dress-forms of foreign contemporary peoples, as well as those of bygone historical periods attracted the imagination of the painter or sculpturist, and inspired the director of the stage. Everything, connected with dress and dress-fashions, moreover, is generally considered as belonging to the realm of tailors and fashionable, if not frivolous people, not quite in keeping with the dignity of a scientist. Therefore, a valuable source of culture-historical information has been neglected here.

Another cause for this negligence was undoubtedly the false conception of an automatically progressing evolution of human culture from the "primitive" to the "civilized". This European conception did not hesitate to consider the characteristics of its own culture as the marks of the highest possible human achievements, and those of other cultures the signs of primitivity. On this false basis, the wrong idea has been developed that loose or little dress, and that especially nudity, were necessarily "primitive", whereas the tight and overloaded European dress of the Victorian age, was held to be the symbol and goal of progress... Much harm has been done by this self-centred and short-sighted European prejudice of the last century, to a scientific analysis of the history of dress, for its plain facts teach us a lesson, very much to the opposite effect! The ancient Egyptians, Cretans, pre-Aryan Indians and early Semits, the Greeks, Romans and Indian Buddhists; as a matter of fact, all the founders of world's greatest historical Civilizations wore the same type of loose and "half-nude" dress, appropriate to the climatic conditions of their respective countries.

The Scyths, Huns, Teutons, Mongols and other nomadic invaders from Central Asia, on the other hand, were dressed in tight and all-covering cloths, appropriate to the severly cold climate of their Siberian home-countries. But they were in the beginning of their invasions rather destroyers, than builders of civilization. It must therefore be said to be utterly false to say that tight and all-covering dress signifies higher culture, or that loose, and half-nude dress indicates "primitivity"!

This basic fact of a cultural history of dress shows already what a wrong impression the superficially interpreted evolutionary conception of cultural history has created. Much more can undoubtedly be achieved by an exact method of scientific observation of facts, than by building up theories, based upon assumed and, to say the least, unproved "laws of evolution" in human culture which were supposed to have been parallel to the undoubtedly existing evolution of the human body and its animal-like ancestors. It seems therefore advisable to apply exact culture-historical methods on the investigation of dress, in order to replace unfounded prejudices by proved facts. The main principles of such a culture-historical method of comparative ethnology have been explained, by the prominent representatives of this school, i.e. the professors W. Schmidt and W. Kopers in a recent publication[1].)

India offers a classical working-field for this kind of investigation, as so many and so differing kinds of dress are in few other countries found to co-exist, as they do here.

From where came all these dress-fashions? What is their history and which are the connecting links between so differing dresses, as *e.g.* those of the Pathan tribesmen and the Brahmin priest, the Europeanized townsmen and the Indian ladies in their picturesque saris, so much admired all over the world? And these are only a few, out of many more examples!

It cannot be our task to attempt at a full history of Indian dress within the frame of this short article, though we do hope that this history will one day be written, after thorough investigation into all

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1. "The Culture Historic Method of Ethnology. A scientific approach to the racial question." New York, 1940. (Fortuny's Publishers).

historical sources will have been made. But a few hints to the main problems of this question may be usefully suggested to all those, who, we hope, will take up systematic investigation into sources of historical information, such as ancient sculptures, paintings, descirptions, trade-accounts and statistics of all kind. A history of dress can be built upon this basis alone.

It is obvious that such a comprehensive history of dress will also have to deal with many side-issues of our problem. The hygienic and the psychological effect of dress, as well as it's aesthetical, taste-forming or its ethical qualities are by no means negligible, though they are usually neglected by social scientists and reformers alike.

The dress which a person wears transforms not only the bodily, but also the mental attitude. It influences taste, the beauty-ideal and thus indirectly also the outlook and character of a person. These very interesting aspects of the dress-problem should of course be thoroughly dealt with in a comprehensive history of dress, but they can not be made the subject of our present essay, which merely tries to show:—

(a) that scientific interest in dress is not frivolous, but should be taken seriously as an important source of culture-histic information,

(b) that the history of dress illustrates general history, and

(c) that tradition and fashion are stronger forces in the history of dress, than artistic, hygienic and climatic conditions, which are gnerally held to have been the main factors in the creation of dress-fashions.

The scientific analysis of all the motives in various dress-forms alone can pave the way to a reasonable dress-reform on healthy lines. The scientific study of the cultural history of dress may therefore be said to serve not only theoretical science, but also practical life.

II. Outlines of Culture-Historic Investigation in the Changements of Dress-Fashions

The dress of the primary human culture-circles served three main objectives, *i.e.* (a) the protection, (b) the covering of the sexual organs, and (c) ornamentation. Leaves were originally used for these purposes. The warriors of the totemistic hunting type developed from this basic garment strong belts, made of durable material, which offered an effective shield in open fighting. Chains of shells, pierced stones, seeds or flowers, as also tattoo-marks were often added to the practical leaf-dress, which naturally must be changed every day and thus is very hygienic and clean. Women in a matriarchal culture were most probably responsible for the invention of spinning and weaving, and thus for the introduction of durable cloths. This luxury undoubtedly facilitated the immigration of men into cool and also in desert-zones, from their moist-tropical home-countries. But it necessitated washing, or, if neglected, the wearing of dirty material on the body, which is both, extremely unhygienic and positively unaesthetic. These loin-cloths have been wrapped round the waist, in a dhoti-or lungi-like fashion. Ornamentation was concentrated on the upper part of the body, which, as a rule was left bare, in accordance to the climatic conditions of tropical countries, where all-covering garments are derogatory. Only a loose scarf was some times worn over the shoulder, and enfolded, according to temporary need, as a protection against cold storms in the cooler zones, or sand-storms in desert-areas, into which this type of higher matriarchal agricultural— and city-civilization has meanwhile penetrated.

This was the classical dress-type of the great civilizations which flourished in the wide belt between India, Oriental-Africa and the Mediterranean Basin, during some forty centuries B.C. and ten centuries A.D. This dress survived in many forms among all nations of higher culture. The statues of modern European statesmen, kings and heroes are often depicted in this kind of dress, thus keeping up the classical Greek tradition. The female symbols for peace, wisdom, justice, liberty, science and also those of the various European nations are usually represented in European palaces in this same dress, according to the traditional form of the Egyptian, Greek and Roman female deities which were the patterns of these symbolical figures. The Rennaissance-movement had revived the memory of this dress-type in Europe.

But the very same dress also been preserved as a living ceremonial garment in many Oriental countries of old cultural tradition.

The dress of the Muslim pilgrim to Mekka thus keeps alive, at least temporarily, this type of dress, which was once worn as a matter of course by the early Muslims of Arabia. The ceremonial dress of the Brahmin priests and of a number of ruling princes, both in British and Dutch India, adds more examples to our list of surviving traditions in clothing.

How, when, and why did the tight, and— in warm countries extremely unpractical— clothes, come into existence, which are now worn by the great bulk of the world's population? From where came the so-called European style of clothing?

This tight and all-covering type of sewn garments was by no means a progress, developed from the original dress. It was on the other hand invented by those nomadic tribes which had lived as pastoral people, in the cold zones of Central Asia and Siberia, anterior to their immigration into Southern countries. In their arctic home-lands, it was a necessity to protect one's body with tight trousers, sleeved shirts and jackets, or with long blouses and coats against the severe cold.

The Central Asiatic pastoral normads conquered, in the course of time, a great number of highly advanced city-civilizations in warm countries, such as those of Mohanjo-Daro, Mesopotamia, ancient Egypt and Crete, or much later, Rome. As so often, also here, the barbaric conquerors learned and adopted culture, knowledge, science and the mystic essence of the religions, which they found in the conquered cultural areas. But the outward appearance of the conquerors, (— again, as so often in history!—) was more or less copied by the conquered peoples. Thus the first influx to the South of tight, overloaded dress-fashions, suitable for arctic, but not for tropical climates, was started. We know a great number of similar examples of imitation of the victorious conquerors, by their enemies. The Turkish cavalry-uniform, their war-symbols and the shape of their curved swords was thus imitated by the European armies, after the Turkish victories and conquests during the XV-th and XVI-th centuries. French uniform-patterns were similarly copied after the Napoleonic era. The navies of all nations adopted the British sailor's

dress, similarly as the colonial forces of most colonizing powers wear the khaki shirt and shorts of the British.

What happened here in more recent stages of history, was also the pattern of events in former millenia. Human psychology and mental reactions are less changeable than the visible forms of material civilization.

The ancient Greeks, in their hygienic, beautiful and simple dress, suitable to the subtropical climate of their country, considered the tight and sewn clothes of the Scyths and Persians as the outstanding sign of barbarity. But only a few hundred years later, after the conquest of Greece by Macedonians and Romans and after the growth of Central-Asiatic cultural influence, this very dress has been adopted by them. Similarly as the Britons had copied the tight dress of the Normans and as the kilt only survived in the mountains of Scotland and in some regiments of the army, so also survived a kilt-like garment only in the Epiros, *i.e.* the mountainous region of Greece and in the regiments of the Ephzons there.

In the transition-period of classic Greek to mediaeval Bycantine culture, it became a fashion with the courtesans to half-veil their faces, thus adding to their natural beauty, the charm of secrecy and excited curiosity. This fashion of the courtesans has later been adopted by the average ladies of Bycantium, from where it spread as the official dress of the nuns to the West among whom it still exists in a modified form, and, much later, i.e. after the Turkish invasion, as the originally unislamic veiling of women, to the East and so far as India.

III. *The effect of foreign dress in tropical countries.*

The all-covering fashion of the Central-Asiatic conquerors has thus been rapidly introduced in the subtropical and tropical centres of civilization, during the first centuries A.D. A revolution of every-days life, men's outward appearance, and constitution has here been effected, which is usually underestimated, if not entirely neglected by culture-historical investigation. The most natural thing of the world in a subtropical, or tropical country, *i.e.* the sight of human skin, a bare upper part of the body or of the legs, was soon considered "strange" if not "indecent". This indirect effect of the tight, artic dress on the outlook of people, living in tropical countries, proved to

be unwholesome. The traditional rules of tropical hygiene, the innate sense of classical beauty and ever the ethical standard were shaken and, to a certain extent, even destroyed.

Ceremonial baths, repeated several times a day, are soon being neglected under the influence of tight dress, as it is difficult, even impossible for poorer classes of people to carry out these baths, as soon as the sight of the human skin was once banned from, or looked down by the public. Also the regular washing of the complicated, sewn and heavy cloths is too costly, as to be carried out as regularly and often as that of simple, unsewn dress, of the sari,— dhoti,— or lungi-type. In some countries it became even a custom to keep the cloths of the day on the body, during the night: a very unhygienic undertaking, especially so in a hot climate, where tight and heavy cloths are bound to get soaked with sweat and dust!

But also the unfavourable effect on the people's general morality appears to have been amazingly strong. The mere sight of a human body, especially that of a woman, to which tropical people were accustomed in natural innocence, soon became the object of an undesirable curiosity and excited sexual passions without personal love; a thing unheard of, in a culture, where the sight of human skin and bodies is a matter of course and every-days-life.

Even the aesthetical sense for the natural harmony in the Human body decayed and was soon replaced by the craving to show one's dignity and social position in an accumulation of bombastic and ill-proportioned masses of cloths on one's body. Unhygienic and unpractical as this sort of dress is, especially in hot climates, it also undermines taste.

The beauty-ideal, determined by the ruling dress-fashion, influences the entire physical and mental attitude of a nation, to a far greater extent as this is usually realized. Loose dress, bare feet and a bare upper part of the body result in the straight and noble attitude for which Indians were so famous. It is characteristic that this upright bearing has been preserved, chiefly by the poorer classes and partly also by the ladies of higher standing in India, who both of them have generally not adopted European shoes and tight, overloaded dress.

This sort of garment is not only a burden that bends the body physically and literary; it affects also the mental attitude to one's own body, in so far as it distracts the consciousness from the former to the dead matter of cloths and garments. Under the influence of the tight, nordic dress, a neglected, bent or fat body, wrapped up in costly cloths, was soon considered "beautiful", and a harmonious body of classical beauty, if clad in a simple cloth was considered "indecent". Hence the decay of swimming, gymnastics, physical training and of a sound taste, under the derogatory influence of overloaded dress-fashions!

The European conquest of most of the centres of ancient civilization and the European attitude towards the traditional dress in these countries of Southern culture added much to the undesirable development, outlined here. Light dress and nudity, although much admired in the classical Greek civilization and copied from their famous sculptures, by the Europeans, have, at the same time been looked down upon, if found in contemporary Asiatic and African peoples. Ridiculously false slogans have been invented under this inconsequent idea. The alleged primitivity of unsewn cloths, such as the sari, dhoti or lungi, or the pretended "indecency" of a bare upper part of the body are two examples of this unscientific attitude of mind. We have shown how utterly false these ideas appear to be in the light of exact culture-historic investigation. For the creators of the great civilization wore loose and little dress but the barbaric invaders tight, sewn one! But it is seldom realized that these artificially created foreign prejudices changed the outlooked on vital questions of hygiene, art and ethics, as a matter of fact, the entire outlook of life in tropical countries!

It is the irony of fate that modern European development now realized that these mistakes, have been committed especially during the last century, and that it tries to correct the damage done at home by reform and modernisation, whereas in the tropical colonies under European domination the old prejudices are still being kept alive by the Europeanized Orientals and Africans themselves. It is perhaps not said too much that Europe has considerably orientalized her outlook on these questions, whereas the Orient and Africa have been westernized in the old-fashioned sense of the world.

Physical culture, a bath twice or thrice a day, swimming, light dress and the aesthetical appreciation of natural beauty in the

human body; all these are qualities, wide-spread and getting more and more popular in modern Europe, and at the same time rapidly decaying in the East, though there is little doubt that they had been introduced to Europe from the East! The West learned from the East through the medium of the British, especially since the latter had come to India. They have a particularly open and unprejudiced mind for everything good, also in foreign cultures and it was undoubtedly since the spreading of the British influence became so powerful in the rest of Europe, that hygiene, daily baths, sport and swiming grew popular there.

Now-a-days European workmen and sportsmen take more and more to the custom of doing work with a bare upper part of the body and bare legs, whereas the Oriental and African town-proletariat considers the wearing of shirts,__ which in a tropical climate are bound to be sweat-soaked and dirty after half a day's work'— as an essential symbol of their dignity.

The removal of the coat and its replacement by the shirt in the official dress of the Fascists, has not been invented by them, but rather copied from the practical, simple and pretty shirt-and short-dress of the British. It is generally felt in Europe that the present gents dress, especially the overcoat is unpractical, unhygienic and ugly and that it ought to be replaced by a better sort of simpler dress. At the very time the European overcoat is being adopted by all classes of tropical peoples, although this garment in far more burdensome in a hot country, than it is in cool Europe.

In the process of this adoptation, a specially fatal tendency is to be observed. The old traditional dress, with its long, floating folds of cloths is not given up when the tight European coat is being adopted. This results in a combination of both cloths, most illsuited from the artistic point of view and even more overloaded and sticky than either of the two dress-elements alone. Consequently many tropical Easterners and Africans are now positively heavier dressed than even the Europeans in their cool climate of ice and snow!

The Arab Bedu, *e.g.* wears now-a-days his picturesque, long shirt and a tight, second-hand European coat on top of it. Here in India, similar combinations can be observed, which are aesthetically disastrous. For, loose and floating garments have a high value of beauty, if combined with the natural harmony of the human body. A

clean and nicely folded dhoti, combined with a naked upper part of the body, partly covered perhaps with a light scarf, is certainly far superior, from the artistic point of view, to the tight and clumsy European pantaloons and coat. But dhotis, hanging underneath the straight lines of an American-tailored coat; this is certainly a dress which combines everything that does not go together, Exactly the same holds good to combinations such as a modern sherwany, over which a traditional Arab burnus is hung, or a gorgeous sari under which an embroidered European blouse is worn. The judgment of G. Venkatachalam on such kinds of heterogenously combined, newly invented dress-type can scarcely be said to be too hard, when he says that

> "The present-day dress all over India is anything but desirable; it is a jumble of all sorts, half oriental and half occidental, illsuited to the climate of the country and positively ugly and monstrous. It is amazing that, sensitive as Indians are, to most other things, they have not yet realized the ridiculousness of the whole situation. In fact reversion to the ideal Indian dress seems to make them stand aghast and wonder at the folly of going back to some sort of primitivism."[2]

Unprejudiced history of dress can successfully serve not only the culture-historian and ethnologist, but also the artist and social reformer whose duty it is to create an outward appearance of his co-nationals which is both: hygienic, __ *i.e.* suitable to the climatic conditions, __ and also in keeping with the traditions and dignified life-style of a culture.

Yet, these are by no means all the tasks which a history of dress can fullfil. We mentioned before that many elements of modern European hygiene and reform have been borrowed from the East and the South. History of dress shows in detail how many articles have been adopted in Europe from the East and especially from India, also in recent days.

The sari has been so much admired that during the last few years ladies, firstly in Paris and then in all European countries, imitated the sari as a most charming evening-dress. this "European sari" is in a way even more genuinely Indian, than that worn by

2. "Mirror of Indian Art," Bangalore 1929, p. 220.

Europeanized Indian ladies, as the former garment, unlike the latter, is not combined with the tight tailor's blouse, which it had become the custom to wear under the sari by Europeanized Indians.

The attractive and hygienic sandals without heels too have been copied by European ladies from the Indian pattern; a very important improvement, not only from the artistic and cultural—, but also from the hygienic point of view. Countess Anita Coudenhove-Kalergis has proved that the high-heeled European lady's shoe is responsible for many a seriously harmful damage, done to the female body, whereas flat open sandals improve the upright bearing, in fact the entire position of the spine, which again is important for the child-bearing function of the female body.[3] Along with the introduction of Indian sandals, thorough pedicuring and the attractive custom of colouring the nails of the feet has also been learned by European ladies from their Indian sisters. This again recalls to mind that manicuring seems to have been taught to Europe, by the Arabs, centuries ago, after it had been taken over by them, from India.

The influence of Indian jewellery and the Indian style of ornamentation on the Near East, Oriental Africa, the Mediterranean Basin and Europe in ancient and more recent periods is an interesting side-issue of culture-historic investigation of dress. But this is too vast a subject as to be discussed here.

Indirectly also such changements, as the simplification of the modern European taste, may be counted under this heading, to a certain extent. Modern European furniture and even the entire style of interior architecture tends to simplification which was once upon a time typically Oriental. The low chairs invite to a more natural posture of the body, approaching the hygienic cross-legged way of sitting. Colour and the use of flowers play an almost oriental part in modern European interior architecture and fashion. The beautiful complexion of colourful, sunburnt skin is highly valued in modern Europe, as it was once in the East, whereas now-a-days Oriental people try to appear in the gloomy complexion of whitish pale powder which neither suits to the physical beauty of the racial types, living in the South, nor to the colourful environemnt of tropical countries.

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3. Various medical lectures and essays of which some were published in "The Light," Lahore in 1936.

Everywhere, we find the tendency of Orientalization in the West and of old-fashioned Westernization in the East. Examples and problems of every kind represent themselves to prove this to the culture-historic investigation of the dress— and related problems in India. Yet this history of Indian dress will have to fight with more difficulties as *e.g.* a similar history in ancient Greek modes of life has to face. Indian sculptures, paintings, houses, the descriptions of Indian life and customs have been much less thoroughly described, reproduced and scientifically analysed than those of classical Greece. But though the task before the historian of dress-fashions in India is difficult; yet it is all the more promising!

IV. *Some examples of culture-historic investigation in Indian dress-fashions*

A few instances of the most common Indian garments may show how complex the problems are which have to be tackled here. Many elements of Indian life which are generally considered as typically indigenous prove to be of foreign origin and foreign cultural features, on the other hand, are found to be originally Indian, though they have perhaps returned to India, sometimes in a changed forms!

The examples of Indian dress elements or garments quoted below are neither exhaustive nor is their analysis in any way complete. They are merely mentioned here as some practical illustrations to the theory of this essay on dress.

(a) The dhoti and the lungi are genuinely Indian in that sense that their use has been practised, since long, in this country. The similar manner, however, of folding the loin-cloths round the waist, which appears to have prevailed in ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia and Greece, suggests a historical connection between their national dress and that of India. But it cannot yet be said whether the peculiar fashions of folding the dhoti and the lungi have been introduced to India from the West, or vice versa exported to Mesopotamia, Egypt and Greece from this country.

(b) The sari, this most typically Indian dress, can be said to be so, only as far as the part below the belt is concerned. A glance at the Buddhistic, and early Hinduistic sculptures and paintings

shows that the binding of the sari across the breast and over the head was originally not Indian and seems to be a foreign element in Indian dress-fashions. I am unable to say whether this element has been introduced by Parsi ladies, or much earlier already, by the Graeco-Bactrian, or perhaps even the Scytho-Hun invasions. The influence of the Indian sari on modern European dress has already been mentioned but deserves thorough study.

(c) The long European blouses are naturally of non-Indian origin, though now-a-days most Indian ladies of the lower middle classes and even of higher social standing have taken to this heterogenous fashion. These blouses cover the entire body from the shoulder to the belt, leaving not even the smallest strip of skin open to the cooling breeze. This kind of dress is naturally unhygienic, especially if combined with the several yards of cloth which are folded up in an ordinary sari. But even the more practicable, hygienic and prettier.

(d) Choli might also have been orginally of foreign extraction, though we do not know from where, or by whom, it had been imported to India. It is interesting anyhow, that the Indian choli resembles in shape and style those guarlands and ornamenting chains which have been worn by Indian ladies, during the flourishing peried of Buddhist civilization in India. The choli, a traditional Indian garment, anyhow, since centuries, seems to have suggested similar forms of European swiming and sport-dress for ladies. Here one instance more is added to the long list of recent influences on European culture by Indian examples.

The shape and colour of jewellery and ornamentation otherwise, seem to have been the pattern for many dress-forms in all parts of the world, but especially so in India. A systematic investigation into their history will most probably bring forward valuable data, helpful for the interpretation of general history of culture and of that of dress-fashions, particularly. The guarland, that basic element in Indian ornamentation, will most probably come into

the focus of interest, if once this study should be undertaken seriously.[4]

(e) The kurta, chiefly worn by men, but partly also by some classes of Indian women, especially Muhammadan, seems to have been introduced from Persia at a comparatively recent date. The original form of the kurta is a long, floating garment, made of very fine material which would not prevent the breeze to pass through. The adaptation of European/shirts, made of thick stuff. more so of long-sleeved ones, worn without collar and allowing its lower part to hang outside the trousers, is neither in keeping with the style, practicability and beauty of the kurta, nor that of a short-sleeved open-collared European shirt.

(f) The shervany is a quite recent innovation, inspite of the fact that it is sometimes styled as an "Indian national dress". The single instances of its fabrication when, how and why it came in use, during the last century can not be discussed in detail here. Suffice it to say that elements of the Central Asiatic Mughal dress and those of European military— and official dress in the Victorian age have been amalgamated and melted together here under the very noses of the historian, so to say, and that it is still not absolutely clear how, when and by whom the shervany in its present form was invented. The clarification of such cases needs much material to be found out by culture-historic comparison and ethnologic research-work.

A few points to this subject may be mentioned, though it is not pretended to give any accurate, not to speak of an exhaustive history here.

The tight and high collar of the shervany has been obviously copied from the military uniform, worn in Europe during the last century. Its use in a tropical country amounts to a sort of continuous torture, especially so as the material used, is now also often copied from cool Europe and consequently much too thick. The shape of the shervany very tight round the breast and waist and floating, wide below, has been taken from the pattern of the kurta, where it is appropriate and in keeping with the very fine material used. But a

4 Heirce-Geldern on the Lotos and the Guarland as prominent motives of Indian Art.

garment of this shape, made of heavy cloths contradicts all needs of a national dress in a tropical country. The combination of various foreign elements here can neither be said to be genuinely Indian, nor practical in any way. This is what history of dress teaches as thus helping to remove generally accepted and thoughtlessly repeated prejudices.

V. The General Value of Investigation into the History of Dress

This very fact shows that scientific investigation into the history of dress will serve not only theoretical knowledge alone, but will also broaden the practical outlook on matters of cultural interest. Moreover it will deepen the appreciation for and the understanding of a sound renaissance-movement, aiming at the adaptation of Indian every-days-life to both: climatic condition, and to the real, not the imaginary traditions of the country.

A refined sense for the beauty of the nude and the harmony, expressed in the lines of the human body, was characteristic in Indian life and art, just as it was in classic Greece. So much so that Professor Baron Heine-Geldern rightly drew attention to the fact that the Buddhist-Indian Sculpturists, (__ even after the introduction of the Graeco-Beetrian Gandhara style with its folded, floating garments!__) transformed the cloths of their statues into soft lines, running over the human body, rather like a lineal ornamentation, than like a substantial foreign matter.

Two fundamentally opposing conceptions of ornamentation in dress are to be differentiated here. (a) The lineal and (b) the plastic type. The former merely stresses the natural outlines of the human body by way of employing colour, or very thin, soft cloths, adaptable to the elastic movements of the body. The latter adds plastic foldings to the natural features, thus altogether changing its natural profile.

The first type of dress was based on the classical ideal of beauty and encouraged a natural taste for harmony in colour and form; once a characteristic feature of Indian civilization which is now conspicuous by its absence in modern Indian every-days-life and especially dress-fashions. Except for the rural districts where European waist-coat and shirt for men and long blouses for women have not yet been introduced, the picture is perhaps not very

encouraging which a culture-historically investigating explorer now-a-days finds in Indian towns-life.[5]

Yet despair would be utterly out of place! Indian culture, philosophy, religion, art and refinement of life has contributed to world's civilization since 4 or 5 thousand years, until these days. India is perhaps destined to take a leading part in an acute problem of the day: *i.e.* the creation of an altogether new type of international dress for tropical climates.

Mahatma Gandhi, anyhow, was the only contemporary and the first official personage who made a move in this direction and dared to change the international official dress, even at highly official occasions. He did so, at least for his own person. He wears the hygienic, beautiful and traditional dress which, as we have seen, was at one time common to all the great nations and founders of civilisations that flourished between Mohanjo-Daro and Memphis and between Hadramout and ancient Rome. His followers, on the other hand, have as yet not adopted this form of dress, only the material used, by him. Thus they have reduced the form-giving and culture-historically creative element in Gandhi's attempted dress-reform to a merely economic boycott-movement, thereby rather strengthening the foreign form-elements in Indian dress. Whether Kaddi— or Manchester— cloths are used; the form of dress, worn by practically all congressites is of the foreign, not of the Indian historical type. Thus Gandhi's reform-movement appears to have been a failure, seen from the culture-historical point of view. Yet it would be much too early to judge the indirect results of this attempt made, to re-introduce a genuinely Indian type of dress.

Fashions and cultural conventions are subject to much slower evolution than are political opinions and movements. Though one influences undoubtedly the other, there is still a world of difference between these two moving forces of civilization!

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5. W.V.G. RIGSON, I.C.S., in his book on "The MARIA GOND," London 1938, points out on pp. 70 and 173 how European waist-coat and shirt are being introduced even among the jungle tribes, where they cause serious harm to the general health of the people, increase infection, scabies, itch and ringworms.

Indian womanhood has at least preserved the main elements of its outward appearance, to a much higher degree than has any other non-European nation. Perhaps this is significant, in view of the essential role which was played by the Indian womanhood in the cultural history of this country. But also the changements of dress-forms among Indian men are important, not only inn the practical sense, but also as factors, indicating cultural changements.

Althemore necessary is it to study the historical basis of these changements, in order to understand and to appreciate its deeper meaning. This is perhaps less clearly visible at the surface, than it is to those who see present and future as the natural continuation of the past.

This synthesis is exactly what culture-historical investigation, — also in the dress-problem! — tries to achieve.

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6) R. D. Merriman:	Besides the article which is included in the collection, there is no other work of the author on the history of Sindh.
7) Sarla. J. Narsian:	She is the author of Amil Community of Hyderabad; and Historical and Racial background of Amils of Hyderabad.
8) Muhammad Yasin:	His other article on Sindh is Ranjit Singh's Diplomatic Relations with special reference to Sindh.
9) Omar Rolf Baron Ehrenfels:	A German Scholar. His article which is incldued in the collection does not directly relate to the history of Sindh but in general traces the history of dress.